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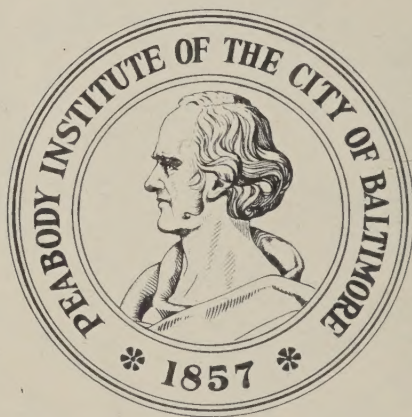
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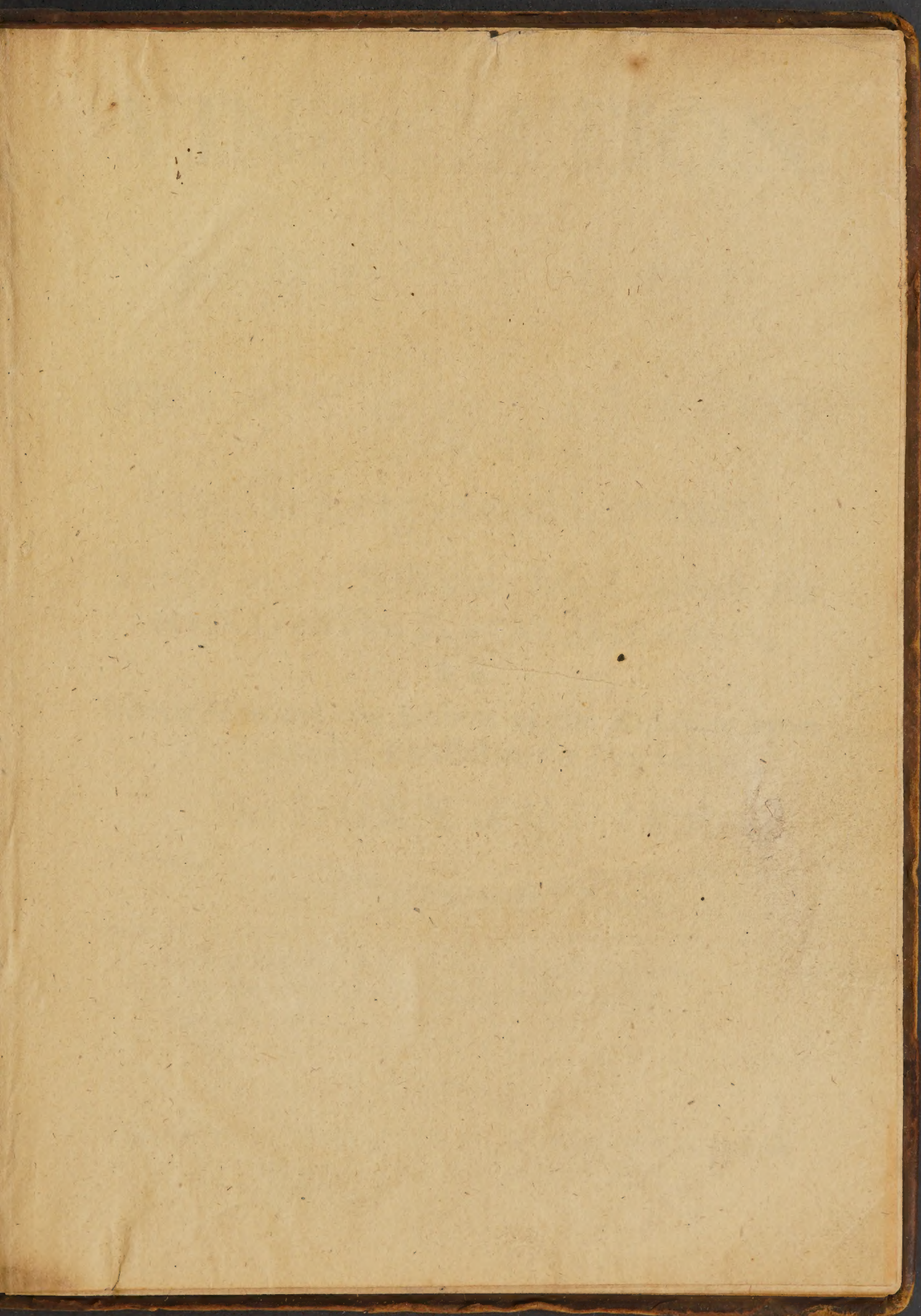
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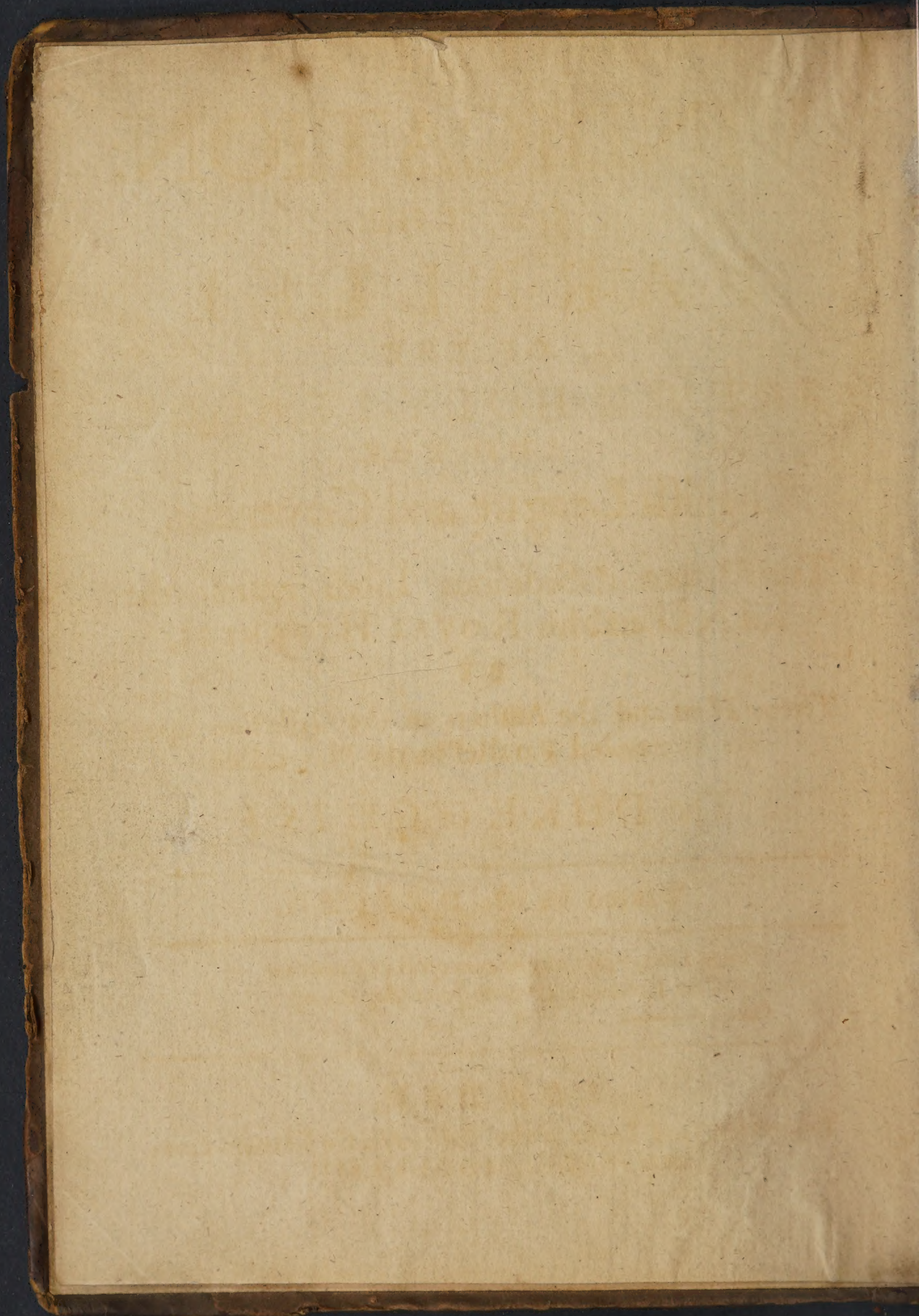
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THE
VINDICATION:
OR THE
PARALLEL
OF THE
FRENCH HOLY-LEAGUE,
AND THE
English League and Covenant,
Turn'd into a Seditious Libell against the
KING and his ROYAL HIGHNESS,
BY
Thomas Hunt and the Authors of the *Reflections* upon
the Pretended Parallel in the Play called
The DUKE of G U I S E.

Written by Mr. D R Y D E N.

*Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Pallanta: & cum spolia ista, diemq;
Oderit.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Jacob Tonson* at the *Judges Head* in *Chancery-Lane*,
near *Fleetstreet*, M D C L X X X I I I.

THE
VINDICATION:

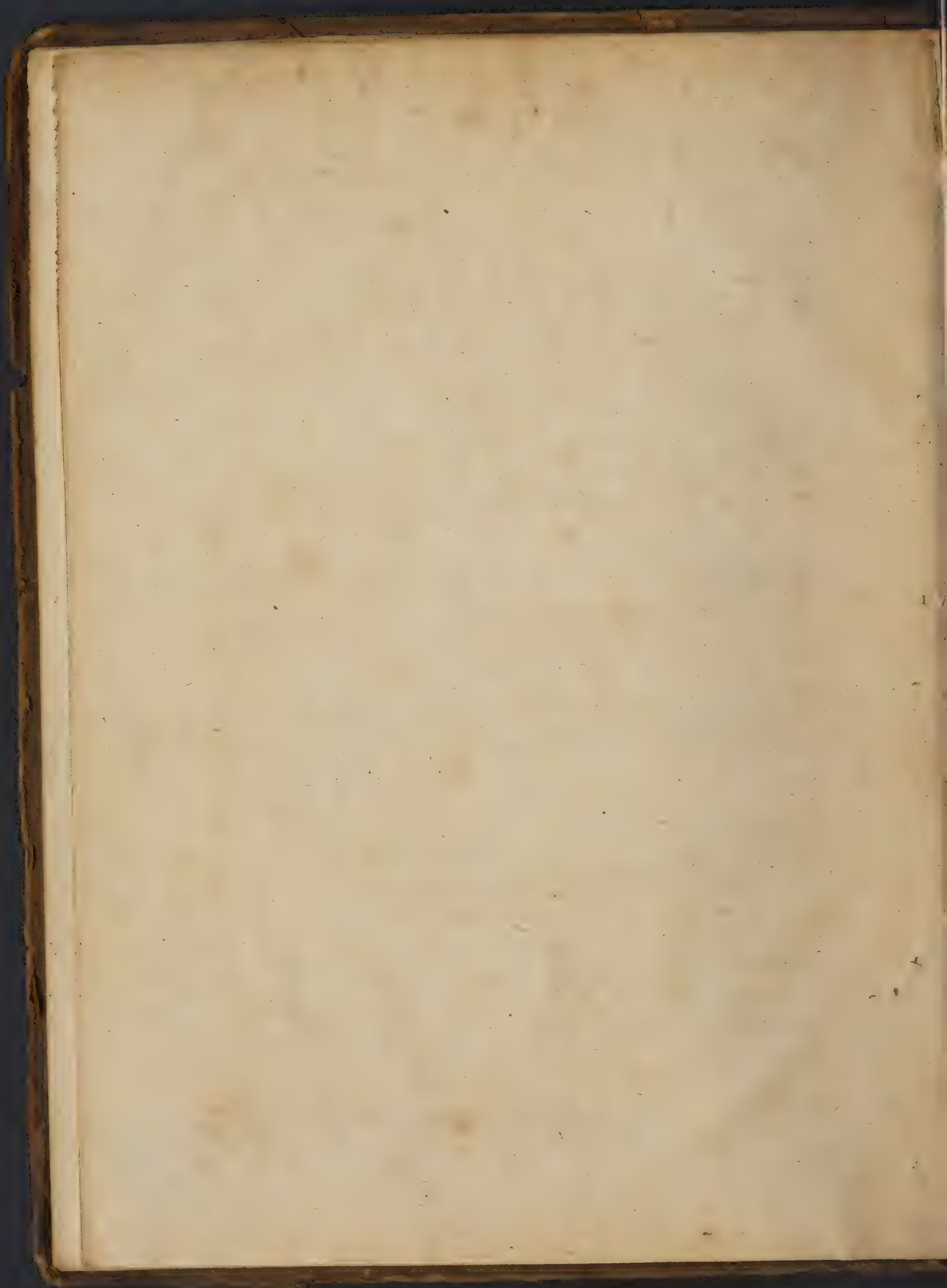
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Turn'd into a Seditious Libell against the
KING and his Royal Highness,
BY

Thomas Hume and the Authors of the Reflection upon
the Pretended Parallel in the Play called
The DUKE of GUISSE.

Written by Mr. DRYDEN.
LONDON: Printed for Jacob Tonson at the Judges Hall in Chancery-Lane,
near Fleetstreet, MDCLXXIII.

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I

T H E
VINDICATION
O F T H E
Duke of Guise.

I N the Year of His Majesty's Happy Restauration, the First Play I undertook was *the Duke of Guise*, as the Fairest way, which *the Act of Indempnity* had then left us, of setting forth the *Rise of the Late Rebellion*; and by *Exploding* the Villanies of it upon the Stage, to *Precaution Posterity* against the Like Errors.

As This was my *First Essay*; so it met with the Fortune of an *Unfinisht Piece*; that is to say, It was Damn'd in Private, by the Advice of some Friends to whom I shew'd it; who freely told me, that it was an Excellent Subject; but not so Artificially wrought, as they could have wish'd: And now let my Enemies make their Best of This Confession.

The Scene of the Duke of Guise's Return to Paris, AGAINST the King's *Positive Command*, was then written; I have the Copy of it still by me, almost the same which it now remains, being taken *Verbatim* out of *Davila*: For where the *Action* is *Remarkable*, and the very words *Related*, the Poet is not at liberty to change them much; and if he will be adding any thing for Or-
A nament,

nament, it ought to be *wholly of a piece*. This do I take for a sufficient Justification of that Scene, unless they will make the *pretended Parallel* to be a *Prophecy*, as well as a *Parallel of Accidents*, that were *twenty years after to come*. Neither do I find that they can suggest the least colour for't in any other part of the Tragedy.

But now comes the main Objection, *Why was it stopt then?* To which I shall render this just Account, with all due Respects to those who were the Occasion of it.

Upon a wandering Rumour (which I will divide betwixt *Malice* and *Mistake*) that some Great Persons were represented or personated in it, the Matter was complain'd of to my Lord *Chamberlain*; who, thereupon, appointed the Play to be brought to him, and prohibited the Acting of it till further Order; commanding me, after this, to wait upon his Lordship; which I did, and humbly desir'd him to compare the *Play* with the *History*, from whence the Subject was taken, referring to the *First Scene* of the *Fourth Act*, whereupon the *Exception* was grounded, and leaving *Davila* (the *Original*) with his Lordship. This was before *Midsummer*; and about two Months after, I receiv'd the Play back again from his Lordship, but without any positive Order whether it should be Acted or not; neither was Mr. Lee or my self any way solicitous about it: But this indeed I ever said, That it was intended for the *King's Service*; and his Majesty was the best Judge, whether it answer'd that End or no; and that I reckon'd it my duty to submit, if his Majesty, for any Reason whatsoever, should deem it unfit for the Stage. In the interim, a strict Scrutiny was made, and no *Parallel* of the Great Person design'd, could be made out. But this Push failing, there were immediately started some terrible Insinuations, that the *Person* of his Majesty was represented under that of *Henry the Third*; which if they could have found out, would have concluded, perchance, not only in the stopping of the Play, but

in the hanging up of the Poets. But so it was, that his Majesty's Wisdom and Justice, acquitted both the One, and the Other; and when the Play it self was almost forgotten, there were Orders given for the Acting of it.

This is Matter of Fact; and I have the Honour of so Great Witnesses to the truth of what I have deliver'd, that it will need no other Appeal. As to the Exposing of any Person living, our innocency is so clear, that it is almost unnecessary to say, *It was not in my Thought*; and as far as any one Man can vouch for another, I do believe it was as little in Mr. Lee's. And now since some People have been so busie as to cast out false and scandalous Surmises, how far we two agreed upon the Writing of it, I must do a common Right both to Mr. Lee and my self, to declare publickly that it was at his earnest Desire, without any Solicitation of mine, that this Play was produced betwixt us. After the writing of *Oedipus*, I pass'd a Promise to joyn with him in another; and he happen'd to claim the performance of that Promise, just upon the finishing of a Poem, when I would have been glad of a little respite before the undertaking of a second Task. The Person that pass'd betwixt us, knows this to be true; and Mr. Lee himself, I am sure, will not disown it: So that I did not [*seduce him to joyn with me*] as the malicious Authors of the *Reflections* are pleas'd to call it; but Mr. Lee's Loyalty is above so ridiculous a Slander. I know very well, that the Town did ignorantly call and take this to be my Play; but I shall not arrogate to my self the Merits of my Friend. Two thirds of it belong'd to him; and then to me only the First Scene of the Play; the whole Fourth Act, and the first half, or somewhat more of the Fifth.

The Pamphleteers, I know, do very boldly insinuate, that before the Acting of it, I took the whole Play to my self, but finding afterwards how ill success it had upon the Stage, I threw as much of it as possibly I could upon my Fellow.

Now here are *three damn'd Lyes* crowded together into a very little room: First, That I *assum'd* any part of it to my *self*, which I had not *written*; wherein I appeal, not only to my particular *Acquaintance*, but to the whole Company of *Actors*, who will witness for me, that in all the *Rehearsals*, I never pretended to any *one Scene* of Mr. *Lee's*, but did him all imaginable Right, in his title to the *greater part* of it. I hope, I may, without *Vanity*, affirm to the World, that I never stood in need of borrowing another mans Reputation; and I have been as little guilty of the *Injustice*, of laying claim to any thing which was not my own. Nay, I durst almost refer my self to some of the angry Poets on the other side, whether I have not rather *countenanc'd* and *assisted* their *Beginnings*, than *hinder'd* them from *Rising*. The two other Falsities are, the *ill success* of the *Play*, and my *disowning* it. The former is manifestly without *Foundation*; for it *succeeded* beyond my very *hopes*, having been frequently *Acted*, and never without a considerable Audience: And then 'tis a thousand to one, that having *no ground*, to *disown* it, I did not *disown* it; but the *Universe* to a *Nut-shell* that I did not *disown* it for want of *success*, when it *succeeded* so much beyond my *Expectation*. But my malignant Adversaries are the more excusable, for this course method of breaking in upon *Truth* and *good Manners*, because it is the only way they have to gratifie the *Genius* and the *Interest* of the *Faction together*; and never so much pains taken neither, to so very, very little purpose. They *decry* the *Play*, but in such a manner, that it has the *Effect* of a *Recommendation*. They call it a *dull Entertainment*; and that's a dangerous word, I must confess, from one of the *greatest Masters* in *humane Nature*, of *that Faculty*. Now I can forgive them this Reproach too, after all the rest: For this *Play* does openly discover the *Original and Root* of the *Practices and Principles*, both of their *Party and Cause*; and they are so well acquainted with

with all the Trains and Mazes of Rebellion, that there's nothing new to them in the whole History. Or what if it were a little insipid, there was no Conjuring that I remember in *Pope Joan* : And the *Lancashire Witches* were without doubt, the most *insipid* Jades that ever flew upon a Stage ; and yet even *These* by the favour of a *Party* made a shift to hold up their heads. Now if we have out-done these Plays in their own *dull way*, their Authors have some sort of *priviledge* to throw the *first stone* : But we shall rather choose to *yield* the Point of *Dulness*, than *contend* for it, against so indisputable a Claim.

But *Matters of State* (it seems) are *canvassed* on the Stage, and things of the *Gravest Concernment* there *managed* : And who were the *Aggressors*, I beseech you but a few *factious*, popular *Hirelings*, that by *tampering* the *Theatres*, and by *poysoning* the *People*, made a *Play-house* more *Seditious* than a *Conventicle* : So that the *Loyal Party* crave only the same freedom of *defending* the *Government*, which the other took before-hand of *exposing* and *defaming* it. There was no complaint of any *Disorders* of the Stage in the *Busle*, that was made (even to the *forming* of a *Party*) to uphold a *Farce* of *Theirs*. Upon the *First day*, the whole *Faction* (in a manner) appeared ; but after One sight of it, they sent their *Proxies* of *Serving-men* and *Porters* to *Clap* in the *Right* of their *Patrons* : And it was impossible ever to have gotten off the *Nonsence* of *three hours* for *Half a Crown*, but for the *Providence* of so *Congruous* an *Audience*. Thus far, I presume, the *Reckoning* is even, for *Bad Plays*, on *Both Sides* ; and for *Plays* written for a *Party*. I shall say nothing of *their Poets Affection* to the *Government*, unless upon an *absolute* and an *odious necessity*. But to return to the *Pretended Parallel*.

I have said enough already to convince any man of common sense, That there neither *was*, nor could be any *Parallel*.

Parallel intended : And it will farther appear, from the nature of the Subject ; there being no Relation betwixt Henry the Third and the Duke of Guise, except that of the Kings marrying into the Family of Lorrain. If a Comparison had been design'd, how easie had it been either to have found a Story, or to have invented one, where the tyes of nature had been nearer ? If we consider their Actions or their Persons, a much less proportion will be yet found betwixt them : and if we bate the Popularity, perhaps none at all. If we consider them in reference to their Parties ; the One was manifestly the Leader, the Other, at the worst, is but misled. The Designs of the One tended openly to Usurpation : those of the Other may yet be interpreted more fairly ; and I hope from the natural candour and probity of his temper, that it will come to a perfect submission and reconciliation at last. But that which perfectly destroys this pretended Parallel, is that our Picture of the Duke of Guise is exactly according to the Original in the History ; his Actions, his Manners ; nay, sometimes his very Words, are so justly copied, that whoever has read him in Davila, sees him the same here. There is no going out of the way, no dash of a Pen to make any By-feature resemble him to any other Man : and indeed, excepting his Ambition, there was not in France, or perhaps in any other Country, any man of his Age vain enough to hope he cou'd be mistaken for him. So that if we Wou'd have made a Parallel, we Cou'd not. And yet I fancy, that where I make it my business to draw Likeness, It will be no hard matter to judg who sate for the Picture. For the Duke of Guises return to Paris contrary to the Kings Order, enough already has been said ; 'Twas too considerable in the Story to be omitted, because it occasion'd the mischiefs that ensued : But in this likeness which was only Casual, no danger follow'd. I am confident there was none intended ; and am satisfied that none was fear'd. But the Argument
drawn

drawn from our evident design is yet, if possible, more convincing. The first words of the *Prologue* spake the *Play* to be a *Parallel*, and then you are immediately inform'd how far that *Parallel* extended, and of what it is so. *The Holy League begot the Covenant, Guisards got the Whig, &c.* So then it is not, (as the snarling Authors of the *Reflections* tell you) a *Parallel* of the *Men*, but of the *Times*. A *Parallel* of the *Factions*, and of the *Leaguers*. And every one knows that this *Prologue* was written before the stopping of the *Play*. Neither was the name alter'd on any such account as they insinuate, but laid aside long before, because a Book call'd the *Parallel* had been printed, resembling the *French League*, to the *English Covenant*; and therefore we thought it not convenient to make use of another mans Title. The chief person in the *Tragedy*, or He whose *disasters* are the *Subject* of it, may in reason give the Name; and so it was call'd the *Duke of Guise*. Our intention therefore was to make the *Play* a *Parallel*, betwixt the *Holy League* plotted by the House of *Guise* and its *Adherents*, with the *Covenant* plotted by the *Rebels* in the time of King *Charles the First*, and those of the *new Association*, which was the *Spawn* of the *old Covenant*.

But *This Parallel* is plain, that the *Exclusion* of the *Lawful Heir* was the main design of *Both Parties*: and that the endeavours to get the *Lientenancy* of *France* established on the *Head* of the *League*, is in effect the same with offering to get the *Militia* out of the *Kings hands* (as declar'd by *Parliament*) and consequently that the power of *Peace* and *War* should be wholly in the *People*. 'Tis also true that the *Tumults* in the *City*, in the choice of their *Officers* have had no small resemblance with a *Parisian Rabble*. And I am afraid that both *Their Faction* and *Ours* had the same *Good Lord*. I believe also that if *Julian* had been written and calculated for the *Parisians*, as it was for our *Sectaries*, one of their *Sheriffs* might have mistaken

mistaken too, and call'd him *Julian the Apostle*. I suppose I need not push this Point any further, where the *Parallel* was intended, I am certain it will reach: But a larger account of the Proceedings in the City may be expected from a better hand, and I have no reason to forestall it. In the mean time, because there has been no *Actual Rebellion*, the Faction triumph in their *Loyalty*; which if it were out of *Principle*, all our divisions would soon be ended, and we the happy People, which God and the Constitution of our Government have put us in condition to be: but so long as they take it for a *Maxim*, that the *King* is but an *Officer in Trust*, that the *People*, or their *Representatives* are *superiour* to him, Judges of *Miscarriages*, and have power of *Revocation*, 'tis a plain case, that when ever they please they may take up arms; and, according to *Their Doctrine*, *lawfully* too. Let them joyntly renounce this one opinion, as in Conscience and Law they are bound to do, because both Scripture and Acts of Parliament oblige them to it, and we will then thank their *Obedience* for our quiet, whereas now we are only beholding to them for their *Fear*. The miseries of the last War are yet too fresh in all mens memory: and they are *not* Rebels only because they have been so *too lately*. An Author of theirs has told us roundly the *West-Country Proverb*; *Chad eat more Cheese and chad it*: Their Stomach is as good as ever it was; but the mischief on't is, they are either *Muzzled* or want their *Teeth*. If there were as many *Fanatiques* now in *England*, as there were *Christians* in the *Empire*, when *Julian* reign'd, I doubt we should not find them much enclin'd to *passive obedience*; and *Curse ye Meroz* wou'd be oftner preach'd upon, than *Give to Caesar*, except in the sense *Mr. Hunt* means it.

Having clearly shown wherein the *Parallel* consisted, which no man can mistake, who does not wilfully; I need not justifie my self, in what concerns the sacred Person of his Majesty. Neither the *French History*, nor our own
could

could have supplied me, nor *Plutarch* himself, were he now alive, could have found a *Greek* or *Roman* to have compared to him, in that eminent vertue of his *Clemency*; even his enemies must acknowledge it to be *Superlative*, because they live by it. Far be it from flattery, if I say, that there is nothing under Heaven, which can furnish me with a *Parallel*; and that in his *Mercy*, he is of all men the *Truest Image* of his *Maker*.

Henry the Third was a Prince of a *mix'd Character*; he had, as an old *Historian* says of another, *Magnas virtutes, nec minora vitia*: but amongst those virtues, I do not find his *forgiving qualities* to be much celebrated. That he was deeply engag'd in the bloody *Massacre* of *St. Bartholomew*, is notoriously known: and if the relation printed in the *Memoires of Villeroy* be true, he confesses there that the *Admiral* having brought him and the *Queen Mother* into suspicion with his Brother then reigning, for endeavouring to lessen his Authority, and draw it to themselves, he first design'd his Accusers death by *Maurevel*, who shot him with a *Carabine*, but fail'd to kill him; after which, he push'd on the *King* to that dreadful *Revenge*, which immediately succeeded. 'Tis true, the Provocations were high, there had been reiterated *Rebellions*, but a *Peace* was now concluded; it was solemnly *Sworn* to by both *Parties*, and as great an assurance of *Safety*, given to the *Protestants*, as the *Word of a King* and *Publick Instruments* could make it. Therefore the Punishment was execrable, and it pleas'd God, (if we may dare to judge of his secret Providence) to cut off that King in the very flower of his Youth, to blast his Successor in his Undertakings, to raise against him the Duke of Guise, the Complotter and Executioner of that inhumane Action (who by the Divine Justice, fell afterwards into the same snare which he had laid for others) and finally, to dye a violent Death himself; murder'd by a *Priest*, an *Enthusiast* of his

own Religion. From these Premisses, let it be concluded, if reasonably it can, that we could draw a *Parallel*, where the lines were so diametrically opposite. We were indeed obliged by the Laws of Poetry, to cast into *Shadows* the *vices* of this *Prince*; for an Excellent Critique has lately told us, that *when a KING is nam'd, a HERO E is suppos'd*: 'Tis a reverence due to Majesty, to make the Vertues as conspicuous, and the Vices as obscure as we can possibly. And this we own, we have either perform'd, or at least endeavour'd. But if we were more favourable to that Character than the exactness of History would allow, we have been far from diminishing a *Greater*, by drawing it into comparison. You may see through the whole conduct of the Play, a *King* naturally *severe*, and a *resolution* carried on to *revenge* himself to the uttermost on the *Rebellious Conspirators*. That this was sometimes shaken by reasons of policy and pity, is confess'd; but it always return'd with greater force, and ended at last in the ruine of his Enemies. In the mean time, we cannot but observe the wonderful Loyalty on the *other* Side; that the *Play* was to be stopp'd, because the *King* was *represented*. May we have many such proofs of their Duty and respect: but there was no occasion for them here. 'Tis to be suppos'd, that his Majesty himself was made acquainted with this objection; if he were so, he was the supream and only Judg of it; and then the Event justifies us: If it were inspected only by those whom he commanded, 'tis hard if his own Officers and Servants should not see as much ill in it as other men, and be as willing to prevent it; especially when there was no solicitation us'd to have it acted. 'Tis known that noble person to whom it was referr'd, is a severe Critique on good Sense, Decency, and Morality; and I can assure the World, that the Rules of *Horace* are more familiar to *him*, than they are to *me*. He remembers too well that the *vetus Comædia* was banish'd from the *Athenian Theatre* for its too much

much licence in representing persons, and would never have pardon'd it in this or any Play.

What opinion *Henry the Third* had of his *Successor*, is evident from the words he spoke upon his *Death-bed*: He exhorted the Nobility (says *Davila*) to acknowledge the King of Navarre, to whom the Kingdom of right belong'd; and that they should not stick at the difference of Religion: for both the King of Navarre, a man of a sincere noble nature, would in the end return into the bosom of the Church, and the Pope being better inform'd, would receive him into his favour to prevent the ruine of the whole Kingdom. I hope I shall not need in this Quotation to defend my self. as if it were my opinion, that the Pope has any right to dispose of Kingdoms: my meaning is evident, that the Kings judgment of his Brother-in-law, was the same which I have copied: and I must farther add from *Davila*, that the Arguments I have used in defence of that *Succeſſion*, were chiefly drawn from the King's answer to the Deputies, as they may be seen more at large in page 730. and 731. of the first Edition of that History in *English*: There the three Estates, to the wonder of all men joyntly concurr'd in cutting off the *Succeſſion*; the Clergy, who were manag'd by the Arch-bishop of *Lyons*, and Cardinal of *Guise*, were the first who promoted it; and the Commons and Nobility afterwards consented, as referring themselves (says our Author) to the Clergy; so that there was only the King to stand in the Gap; and he by artifice diverted that Storm which was breaking upon Posterity.

The Crown was then reduced to the lowest Ebb of its Authority; and the King, in a manner, stood single, and yet preserv'd his *Negative entire*: but if the Clergy and Nobility had been on his part of the Ballance, it might reasonably be suppos'd, that the meeting of those Estates at *Blois*, had heal'd the breaches of the Nation, and not

forc'd him to the *ratio ultima Regum*, which is never to be *prais'd*, nor is it here, but only *excus'd* as the last result of his necessity. As for the *Parallel* betwixt the King of *Navarre*, and any other Prince now living, what likeness the God of Nature, and the descent of Vertues in the same channel have produced, is evident; I have only to say that the Nation certainly is happy where the Royal Vertues of the Progenitors are deriv'd on their Descendants.

In that Scene, 'tis true, there is but *one* of the *Three Estates* mention'd; but the *Other two* are virtually included; for the *Arch-bishop* and *Cardinal* are at the head of the *Deputies*: and that the *rest* are *mute persons*, every Critique understands the reason, *ne quarta loqui persona laboret*; I am never willing to cumber the Stage with many Speakers, when I can reasonably avoid it; as here I might. And what if I had a mind to pass over the Clergy and Nobility of *France* in silence, and to excuse them from joyning in so *illegal* and so *ungodly* a *Decree*? Am I ty'd in *Poetry*, to the strict rules of *History*? I have follow'd it in this Play more closely, than suited with the *Laws* of the *Drama*, and a great Victory they will have, who shall discover to the World this wonderful Secret, that I have not observ'd the *Unities* of *place* and *time*; but are they better kept in the *Farce* of the *Libertine* destroy'd? 'Twas our common business here to draw the *Parallel* of the Times, and not to make an *Exact Tragedy*: For this once we were resolv'd to erre with honest *Shakespeare*: neither can *Catiline* or *Sejanus*, (written by the great Master of our Art) stand excus'd any more than we, from this exception: but if we must be *criticis'd*, some Plays of our *Adversaries* may be expos'd, and let them reckon their gains vvhhen the dispute is ended. I am accus'd of *ignorance*, for speaking of the *Third Estate*, as *not sitting in the same House with the other two*: Let not those Gentle-

men

men mistake themselves, there are many things in *Plays* to be accommodated to the Country in vvhich vve live ; I spoke to the understanding of an *English Audience*; Our *three Estates* novv sit, and have long done so in *Two Houses* ; but our *Records* bear witness, that they, according to the *French Custom*, have sate in one ; that is the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal within the Barr*, and the *Commons* without it. If that Custom had been still continued here, it should have been so represented ; but being otherwise, I was forc'd to write so as to be understood by our own Country-men. If these be *Errours*, a *Bigger Poet* than either of us two has fallen into greater, and the *Proofs* are ready, whenever the *Suit* shall be re-commenc'd.

Mr. *Hunt*, the *Jehu* of the Party, begins very furiously with me, and says I have already condemn'd the *Charter and City*, and have executed the *Magistrates in Effigie* upon the *Stage*, in a *Play* call'd the *Duke of Guise*, frequently acted, and applauded, &c.

Compare the latter end of this Sentence with what the *Two Authors of the Reflections*, or perhaps the *Associating Clubb* of the *Devil-Tavern* write in the beginning of their *Libel*. Never was *Mountain* deliver'd of such a *Mouſe*; the fiercest *Tories* have been asham'd to defend this *Piece*: they who have any sparks of wit among them are so true to their pleasure, that they will not suffer dulness to pass upon them for wit, nor tediousness for diversion: which is the reason that this *Piece* has not met with the expected applause: I never saw a *Play* more deficient in *Wit*, good *Characters* or *Entertainment*, than this is.

For shame, Gentlemen, pack your Evidence a little better against another time: You see, My Lord Chief Baron, has delivered his Opinion, that the *Play* was frequently

quently acted and applauded; but you of the Jury, have found *Ignoramus*, on the Wit and the Success of it. Oates, Dugdale and Turbervile, never disagreed more than you do; let us know at last, which of the Witnesses are true Protestants, and which are Irish. But it seems your Authors had contrary Designs: Mr. Hunt thought fit to say, it was frequently acted and applauded, because, says he, it was intended to provoke the Rabble into Tumults and Disorder. Now if it were not seen frequently, this Argument would lose somewhat of its force; the Reflectors business went another way, it was to be allow'd no Reputation, no Success, but to be damn'd Root and Branch, to prevent the Prejudice it might do their Party; accordingly, as much as in them lay, they have drawn a Bill of Exclusion for it on the Stage; But what Rabble was it to provoke? Are the Audience of a Play-house (which are generally Persons of Honour, Noblemen and Ladies, or at worst, as one of your Authors calls his Gallants, Men of Wit and Pleasure about the Town) are these the Rabble of Mr. Hunt? I have seen a Rabble at Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Night, and have heard of such a name, at true Protestant Meeting houses; but a Rabble is not to be provoked, where it never comes. Indeed, we had one in this Tragedy, but it was upon the Stage; and that's the Reason, why your Reflectors would break the Glass, which has shewed them their own Faces. The business of the Theatre, is to expose Vice and Folly; to dissuade men by Examples from one, and to shame them out of the other. And however you may pervert our good intentions, it was here particularly to reduce men to Loyalty, by shewing the pernicious consequences of Rebellion, and Popular Insurrections. I believe no man, who loves the Government, would be glad, to see the Rabble in such a posture, as they were represented in our Play: But if the Tragedy had ended, on your side, the Play had been a Loyal Witty Poem, the Success

cess of it, should have been recorded by immortal Og or Doeg, and the Rabble Scene, should have been true Protestant, though a Whig Devil were at the Head of it.

In the mean time, pray, where lies the Relation, betwixt the *Tragedy of the Duke of Guise*, and the *Charter of London*? Mr. Hunt has found a rare connexion, for he tacks them together, by the kicking of the *Sheriffs*: That Chain of thought was a little ominous, for something like a kicking, has succeeded the Printing of his *Book*; and the *Charter of London* was the *Quarrel*. For my part, I have not Law enough to state that question, much less decide it; let the *Charter* shift for it self in *Westminster Hall*, the Government is somewhat wiser, than to imploy my ignorance on such a Subject; my promise to honest *Nat. Lee*, was the only Bribe I had, to ingage me in this trouble; for which, he has the good fortune to escape *Scot-free*, and I am left in pawn for the Reckoning, who had the least share in the Entertainment. But the Rising, it seems, should have been on the true Protestants side, for he has tryed, says ingenious Mr. Hunt, what he could do, towards making the *Charter* forfeitable, by some Extravagancy and Disorder of the People. A wise man I had been doubtless for my pains, to raise the Rabble to a Tumult, where I had been certainly, one of the first men, whom they had limn'd or drag'd to the next convenient Sign-Post.

But on second thought, he says, this ought not to move the Citizens: he is much in the right; for the *Rabble Scene* was written on purpose, to keep his Party of them in the bounds of Duty. 'Tis the business of factious men to stir up the Populace: Sir Edmond on Horseback, attended by a Swindging Pope in Effigie, and forty thousand true Protestants for his Guard to Execution, are a Show more proper for that design, than a thousand Stage-Plays.

Well,

Well, he has fortified his Opinion with a Reason, however, why the People should not be moved; *because I have so maliciously and mischievously represented the King, and the Kings Son; nay, and his Favourite (saith he) the Duke too; to whom I give the worst strokes of my unlucky Fancy.*

This need not be answered, for 'tis already manifest, that neither the King, nor the Kings Son are represented, neither that Son, he means, nor any of the rest, God bless them all. What strokes of my unlucky Fancy, I have given to his Royal Highness, will be seen, and it will be seen also, who strikes him worst and most unluckily.

The Duke of Guise, he tells us, ought to have represented a great Prince, that had serv'd to some most detestable Villany, to please the Rage or Lust of a Tyrant; such great Courtiers have been often sacrificed, to appease the Furies of the Tyrants guilty Conscience; to expiate for his Sin, and to atone the People. For a Tyrant naturally stands in fear of such wicked Ministers, is obnoxious to them, and by them, and they drag him to greater evils, for their own impunity, than they perpetrated for his Pleasure, and their own Ambition.

Sure, he said not all this for nothing, I would know of him, on what persons he would fix the Sting of this sharp Satyr? *What two* they are, whom, to use his own Words, *he so maliciously and mischievously would represent?* For my part, I dare not understand the villany of his meaning; but some body was to have been shown a Tyrant, and some other a great Prince, *inserving to some detestable Villany, and to that Tyrants Rage and Lust;* this great Prince or Courtier ought to be sacrificed, to atone the People, and the Tyrant is perswaded, for his own interest, to give him up to *publick Justice.* I say
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no more, but that he has studied the Law to good purpose. He is dancing on the Rope without a *Metaphor*, his knowledge of the Law is the Staff that poizes him, and saves his Neck. The *Party* indeed speaks out sometimes, for wickedness is not always so wise, as to be secret, especially when it is driven to despair. By some of their Discourses, we may guess at whom he points; but he has fenc'd himself in with so many Evasions, that he is safe in his Sacrilege; and he who dares to answer him, may become obnoxious. 'Tis true, he breaks a little out of the Clouds, within two Paragraphs; for there he tells you, that *Caius Cæsar* (to give unto Cæsar, the things that are Cæsars) was in the Catiline Conspiracy; a fine insinuation this, to be sneer'd at by his Party, and yet not to be taken hold of by *publick Justice*: They would be glad now, that I or any man, should bolt out their Covert Treason for them: for their loop-hole is ready, that the *Cæsar* here spoken of, was a private man. But the application of the Text, declares the Authors to be another *Cæsar*, which is so black and so infamous an aspersion, that nothing less than the highest clemency can leave it unpunish'd. I cou'd reflect on his ignorance in this place, for attributing these words to *Cæsar*, *he that is not with us, is against us*: He seems to have mistaken them, out of the *New Testament*, and that's the best defence I can make for him; for if he did it knowingly, 'twas impiously done, to put our *Saviours words* into *Cæsar's* mouth. But *His Law* and *Our Gospel*, are two things; this Gentleman's *Knowledge* is not of the *Bible*, any more than his *Practice* is according to it. He tells you, he will give the world a taste of my *Atheism* and *Impiety*; for which he quotes these following Verses, in the second or third Act of the Duke of Guise.

*For Conscience or Heavens fear, religious Rules
Are all State-bells to toll in pious Fools.*

In the first place, he is mistaken in his *Man*, for the Verses are not *mine*, but Mr. *Lees*: I ask'd him concerning them, and have this account, that they were spoken by the *Devil*; now, what can either *Whig* or *Devil* say, more proper to their *Character*, than that *Religion* is only a *Name*, a *Stalking horse*, as errant a *Property* as *Godliness*, and *Property themselves* are amongst *their Party*? yet for these two lines, which in the mouth that speaks them, are of no offence, he hallooos on the whole pack, against me: *Judge*, *Justice*, *Surrogate*, and *Official* are to be employed, at his Suit, to direct *Process*, and boring through the *Tongue* for *Blasphemy*, is the least Punishment his *Charity* will allow me.

I find 'tis happy for me, that he was not made a *Judge*, and yet I had as lieve have him my *Fudge* as my Council, if my Life were at stake. My poor Lord *Stafford* was well helpt up with this Gentleman for his Solicitor; no doubt, he gave that unfortunate Nobleman, most admirable advice toward the *Saving* of his life; and would have rejoyc'd exceedingly, to have seen him clear'd. I think, I have disprov'd his instance of my *Atheism*, it remains for him, to justify his *Religion*, in putting the words of *Christ* into a *Heathens* mouth: and much more in his prophane allusion to the *Scripture*, in the other Text; *Give unto Cæsar, the things that are Cæsars*; which, if it be not a profanation of the Bible, for the sake of a *silly Witticism*, let all men, but his own Party judge. I am not malicious enough to return him the names which he has call'd me; but of all sins, I thank God, I have always abhor'd *Atheism*: and I had need be a better *Christian* than Mr. *Hunt* has shown himself, if I forgive him so infamous a *Slander*.

But as he has mistaken our *Saviour* for *Julius Cæsar*, so he would *Pompey* too, if he were let alone: to him, and
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to his Cause, or to the like Cause it belong'd, he says, to use these words, *he that is not with us is against us*. I find he cares not whose the Expression is, so it be not Christs. But how comes *Pompey the Great* to be a *Whig*? He was indeed, a Defender of the ancient establish'd *Roman Government*; but *Cæsar* was the *Whig*, who took up Arms unlawfully to subvert it. Our *Liberties* and our *Religion* both are safe, they are secur'd to us by the *Laws*, and those *Laws* are executed under an establish'd *Government*, by a *Lawful King*. The *Defender* of our *Faith*, is the *Defender* of our *Common Freedom*; to *Cabal*, to *Write*, to *Rail* against this Administration, are all *Endeavours* to destroy the *Government*, and to oppose the *Succession* in any private man, is a *Treasonable Practice* against the *Foundation* of it. *Pompey* very honourably maintain'd the *Liberty* of his Country, which was govern'd by a *Common-wealth*: So that there lies no *Parallel* betwixt his Cause and Mr. *Hunts*, except in the bare notion of a *Common-wealth*, as it is oppos'd to *Monarchy*: and that's the thing he would obliquely slur upon us. Yet on these Premises, he is for ordering my Lord Chief Justice, to grant out *Warrants* against all those who have applauded the Duke of Guise; as if they committed a *Riot* when they Clapp'd: I suppose they paid for their Places, as well as he and his Party did, who Hiss'd. If he were not half Distracted, for not being Lord Chief Baron, methinks he should be Lawyer enough, to advise my Lord Chief Justice better. To Clap and Hiss are the Priviledges of a *Free-born Subject* in a *Play-house*: they buy them with their Money, and their Hands and Mouths are their own Property: It belongs to the *Master of the Revels*, to see that no *Treason* or *Immorality* be in the *Play*; but when 'tis acted, let every man like or dislike freely: not but that respect should be us'd too, in the presence of the King, for by his *Permission* the *Actors* are allow'd: 'Tis due to his *Person*, as he is *Sacred*, and to the *Successors*, as being

next related to him : there are opportunities enow for men to hiss, who are so dispos'd, in their absence : for when the King is in sight, though but by accident, a Malefactor is repriev'd from death : Yet such is the Duty, and good manners of these good Subjects, that they forbore not some rudeness in his Majesties presence ; but when his Royal Highness and his Court were only there, they push'd it as far as their malice had power ; and if their Party had been more numerous, the Affront had been greater.

The next Paragraph of our Authors, is a Panegyrique on the Duke of *Monmouth*, which concerns not me, who am very far from detracting from him : the Obligations I have had to him, were those, of his Countenance, his Favour, his good Word, and his Esteem ; all which I have likewise had in a greater measure from his excellent Dutches, the Patroness of my poor unworthy Poetry. If I had not greater, the fault was never in their want of goodness to me, but in my own backwardness to ask, which has allways, and I believe will ever keep me from rising in the World. Let this be enough, with reasonable men, to clear me from the imputation of an ungrateful man, with which my enemies have most unjustly tax'd me. If I am a mercenary Scribler, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury best know : I am sure, they have found me no importunate Solicitor : for I know my self, I deserv'd little, and therefore have never desir'd much. I return that slander with just disdain on my accusers ; 'tis for men who have ill Consciences to suspect others : I am resolv'd to stand or fall with the Cause of God, my King and Country ; never to trouble my self for any railing aspersions which I have not deserv'd, and to leave it as a Portion to my Children, that they had a Father, who durst do his duty, and was neither Covetous nor Mercenary.

As little am I concern'd at that imputation of my back friends, that I have confess'd my self to be put on to write as I do : If they mean this Play in particular, that is notoriously prov'd against them to be false : For the rest of my Writings, my hatred of their Practises and Principles, was cause enough to expose them, as I have done, and will do more. I do not think as they do ; for if I did, I must think *Treason* : But I must in conscience write as I do, because I *know*, which is more than *thinking*, that I write for a *lawful establish'd Government* against *Anarchy, Innovation, and Sedition* : But *these Lyes* (as Prince Harry said to Falstaffe) are as gross as he that made them. More I need not say, for I am accus'd without witness. I fear not any of their *Evidences* ; not even him of *Salamanca* ; who though he has disown'd his *Doctorship* in *Spain*, yet there are some allow him to have taken a certain degree in *Italy* ; a Climate they say more proper for his *Masculine Constitution*. To conclude this ridiculous Accusation against me, I know but four men in their whole Party to whom I have spoken for above this year last past ; and with them neither but casually and cursorily. We have been acquaintance of a long standing, many years before this accursed Plot divided men into several Parties : I dare call them to witness, whether the most I have at any time said, will amount to more than this, that I hop'd the time would come when these names of Whig and Tory would cease among us ; and that we might live together, as we had done formerly. I have since this Pamphlet met accidentally with two of them ; and I am sure they are so far from being my Accusers, that they have severally own'd to me, that all men who espouse a Party, must expect to be blacken'd by the contrary Side : that themselves knew nothing of it, nor of the *Authors* of the *Reflections*. It remains therefore to be consider'd, whether, if I were as much a *Knave* as they wou'd make me, I am *Fool* enough to be guilty

ty of this Charge : and whether they who rais'd it, wou'd have made it publique, if they had thought I was theirs inwardly. For 'tis plain they are glad of worse Scriblers than I am, and maintain them too, as I could prove, if I envy'd them their miserable subsistence. I say no more, but let my Actions speak for me : *spectemur agendo*, that's the trial.

Much less am I concern'd at the noble name of *Bayes* ; that's a *Brat* so like his own *Father* , that he cannot be mistaken for any other body : they might as reasonably have call'd *Tom Sternhold*, *Virgil*, and the resemblance would have held as well.

As for *Knave* and *Sycophant*, and *Rascal*, and *Impudent*, and *Devil*, and *old Serpent*, and a thousand such Good-morrows, I take them to be only names of Parties : And cou'd rerurn *Murtherer* and *Cheat*, and *Whig-napper*, and *Sodomite* ; and in short the goodly number of the *seven deadly Sins*, with all their Kindred and Relations, which are Names of Parties too ; but *Saints* will be *Saints* in spite of Villainy. I believe they wou'd pass themselves upon us for such a *Compound* as *Mithridate*, or *Venice-Treacle* ; as if Whiggism were an admirable *Cordial* in the *Mass*, though the several *Ingredients* are ranck *Poysons*.

But if I think either Mr. *Hunt* a *Villain*, or know any of my *Reflectors* to be *ungrateful Rogues* , I do not owe them so much kindness as to call them so ; for I am satisfied that to prove them either, would but recommend them to their own Party. Yet if some will needs make a *merit* of their *infamy*, and provoke a *Legend* of their *sordid lives*, I think they must be gratify'd at last ; and though I will not take the *Scavengers* employment from him, yet I may be perswaded to point at some mens doors, who have heaps of filth before them. But this must be when
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they have a little anger'd me ; for hitherto I am provok'd no further than to smile at them. And indeed, to look upon the whole Faction in a lump, never was a more pleasant sight than to behold these builders of a new *Babel*, how ridiculously they are mix'd, and what a rare confusion there is amongst them. One part of them is carrying Stone and Mortar for the building of a *Meeting-house*, another sort understand not that Language ; they are for snatching away their Work-fellows materials to set up a *Bawdy-house* : some of them *blaspheme*, and others *pray* ; and both I believe with equal godliness at bottom : some of them are *Atheists*, some *Señaries*, yet *ALL True Protestants*. Most of them love *all Whores*, but her of *Babylon*. In few words, any man may be what he will, so he be one of *Them*. 'Tis enough to despise the *King*, to hate the *Duke*, and rail at the *Succession* : after this 'tis no matter how a man lives ; he is a *Saint* by *infection* ; he goes along with the *Party*, has their *mark* upon him ; his *wickedness* is no more than *frailty* ; their *righteousness* is *imputed* to him : So that as *ignorant rogues* go out *Doctors* when a *Prince* comes to an *University*, they hope at the *last day*, to take their *Degree* in a *Crowd* of *True Protestants*, and thrust unheeded into Heaven.

'Tis a credit to be rayl'd at by such men as these. The *Charter-man* in the very *Title-page*, where he hangs out the *Cloth* of the *City* before his *Book*, gives it for his *Motto*, *Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur* ; as if he shou'd have said, *you have a mind to be couzen'd, and the Devil give you good on't* : If I cry a *Sirreverence*, and you take it for *Honey*, make the best of your bargain. For shame, good *Christians*, can you suffer such a man to *sterve*, when you see his design is upon your *Purses* ? He is contented to expose the *Ears* representative of your *Party* on a *Pil-lory*, and is in a way of doing you more service than a worn out *Witness*, who can hang no body hereafter but himself. He tells you the *Papists* clap their hands in
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the hopes they conceive of the ruine of your Government : does not this single syllable *YOUR* deserve a *Pention*, if he can prove the *Government* to be *Tours*, and that the *King* has *nothing* to do in your *Republick*? he continues, as if that were as sure and certain to *Them*, as it is to *Us*, without doubt, that they (the *Papists*) once fired the *City*, just as certain in your own *Conscienc*es. I wish the *Papists* had no more to answer for, than that accusation: pray let it be put to the *Vote*, and resolv'd upon the *question*, by your whole *Party*, that the *North-east Wind*, is not only *ill-affected* to *Man* and *Beast*, but is also a *Tory* or *Tantivy Papist* in *Masquerade*. I am satisfy'd, not to have *so much art left me as to frane any thing agreeable, or verisimilar*, but 'tis plain that he has, and therefore, as I ought in justice, I resign my *Laurel*, and my *Bayes* too, to *Mr. Hunt*; 'tis he sets up for the *Poet* now; and has the only art to *amuse* and to *deceive the people*. You may see how profound his knowledg is in *Poetry*; for he tells you just before, that *my Heroes are commonly such Monsters as Theseus and Hercules; renown'd throughout all Ages for destroying*. Now *Theseus* and *Hercules* you know have been the *Heroes* of all *Poets*, and have been renown'd through all *Ages*, for *destroying Monsters*, for *succouring the Distrest*, and for putting to death *inhumane arbitrary Tyrants*. Is this your *Oracle*? If he were to write the *Acts* and *Monuments* of *Whig Heroes*, I find they shou'd be quite contrary to mine: *destroyers indeed*, but of a *Lawful Government*; *Murtherers*, but of their fellow *Subjects*; *Lovers* as *Hercules* was of *Hylas*; with a journey at last to *Hell*, like that of *Theseus*.

But mark the wise *Consequences* of our *Author*. I have not, he says, *so much art left me to make any thing agreeable, or verisimilar, wherewith to amuse or deceive the people*: and yet in the very next *Paragraph*, my *Province* is to *corrupt the Manners of the Nation*, and lay waste their *Morals*,

Morals, and my endeavours are more happily apply'd, to extinguish the little remainders of the Vertue of the Age. Now I am to perform all this, it seems, without making any thing verisimilar or agreeable: Why, Pharaoh never set the Israelites such a Task, to build Pyramids without Brick or Straw. If the Fool knows it not, verisimilitude and agreeableness, are the very Tools to do it; but I am willing to disclaim them both, rather than to use them to so ill purpose as he has done.

Yet even this their celebrated Writer, knows no more of *Style and English*, than the *Northern Dedicator*. As if *Dulness and Clumsiness* were fatal to the Name of *TOM*. 'Tis true, he is a *Fool in three Languages* more than the *Poet*, for they say, he understands *Latine, Greek and Hebrew*, from all which, to my certain knowledge, I acquit the other. *Og* may write against the King if he pleases, so long as he *Drinks* for him; and his *Writings* will never do the Government so much harm, as his *Drinking* does it good: for true Subjects, will not be much perverted by his *Libels*; but the *Wine Duties* rise considerably by his *Claret*. He has often call'd me an *Atheist* in Print, I would believe more charitably of him; and that he only goes the *broad way*, because the other is too *narrow* for him. He may see by this, I do not delight to meddle with his course of *Life*, and his *Immoralities*, though I have a long *Bead-roll* of them. I have hitherto contented my self with the *Ridiculous* part of him, which is enough in all conscience to employ one man: even without the story of his late fall at the *Old Devil*, where he *broke no Ribbs*, because the hardness of the *Stairs* cou'd reach *no Bones*; and for my part, I do not wonder how he came to *fall*, for I have always known him heavy; the Miracle is, how he got *up again*. I have heard of a *Sea-Captain* as fat as he, who to scape Arrests, would lay himself flat upon the ground, and let the *Bay-*

liffs carry him to *Prison*, if they cou'd. If a Messenger or two, nay, we may put in three or four, should come, he has friendly Advertisement how to scape them. But to leave him, who is not worth any further consideration, now I have done laughing at him, Wou'd every man knew his own Tallent, and that they who are only born for *drinking*, wou'd let both *Poetry* and *Prose* alone.

I am weary with tracing the Absurdities and Mistakes of our great Lawyer, some of which indeed are *wilful*; as where he calls the *Trimmers*, the *more moderate sort of Tories*. It seems those Politicians are odious to both sides; for neither own them to be theirs. We know them, and so does he too in his Conscience, to be *secret Whigs*, if they are any thing. But now the designs of *Whiggism* are openly discover'd, they tack about to save a Stake, that is, they will not be villains to their own ruine. While the Government was to be destroyed, and there was probability of compassing it, no men were so violent as they; but since their *Fortunes* are in hazard by the *Law*, and their *Places at Court* by the *Kings displeasure*, they pull in their horns, and talk more peaceably; in order, I suppose, to their vehemence on the right side, if they were to be believ'd. For in laying of Colours, they observe a *Medium*; Black and white are too far distant, to be plac'd directly by one another, without some shadowings to soften their contrarieties. 'Tis *Mariana* I think (but am not certain) that makes the following relation; and let the noble Family of *Trimmers*, read their own Fortune in it. *Don Pedro, King of Castile, Sirnam'd the Cruel, who had been restor'd by the Valour of our Edward the Black Prince, was finally dispossest'd by Don Henry the Bastard, and he enjoyed the Kingdom quietly, till his Death; which, when he felt approaching, he call'd his Son to him, and gave him this his last Counsel. I have, said he, gain'd this Kingdom, which I leave you, by the*

the Sword; for the Right of Inheritance was in Don Pedro; but the favour of the People, who hated my Brother for his Tyranny, was to me instead of Title. You are now to be the Peaceable Possessor of of what I have unjustly gotten: and your Subjects are compos'd of these three sorts of men. One Party espous'd my Brothers Quarrel, which was the undoubted Lawful Cause; those, though they were my Enemies, were men of Principle and Honour: cherish them, and exalt them into Places of trust about you, for in them you may confide safely, who priz'd their Fidelity above their Fortune. Another sort, are they who fought my Cause against Don Pedro, to those you are indeed oblig'd, because of the accidental good they did me, for they intended only their private Benefit, and help'd to raise me, that I might afterwards promote them: You may continue them in their Offices, if you please; but trust them no farther than you are forc'd, for what they did, was against their Conscience. But there is a third sort, which during the whole Wars, were Neuters; let them be crush'd on all occasions, for their business was only their own Security. They had neither Courage enough to ingage on my Side, nor Conscience enough to help their Lawful Sovereign: therefore let them be made Examples, as the worst sort of interess'd men, which certainly are Enemies to both, and would be profitable to neither.

I have only a dark remembrance of this Story, and have not the Spanish Author by me, but I think, I am not much mistaken in the main of it: and whether true or false, the Counsel given, I am sure, is such, as ought in common prudence, to be practis'd against Trimmers, whether the Lawful or Unlawful Cause prevail. Loyal men may justly be displeas'd with this Party, not for their Moderation, as Mr. Hunt insinuates; but because, under that Masque of seeming mildness, there lies hidden either a deep treachery, or at best, an interress'd lukewarmness

warmness. But he runs riot into almost treasonable Expressions, as if *Trimmers* were hated because they are not perfectly wicked, or perfectly deceiv'd, of the *Catiline* make, bold, and without understanding, that can adhere to men that publicly profess Murthers, and applaud the design: By all which villanous names, he opprobriously calls His Majesties most loyal Subjects; as if Men must be perfectly wicked who endeavour to support a lawful Government; or perfectly deceiv'd, who on no occasion dare take up arms against their Sovereign: as if acknowledging the right of Succession, and resolving to maintain it in the Line, were to be in a *Catiline* Conspiracy; and at last, (which is ridiculous enough, after so much serious Treason) as if to clap the Duke of Guise, were to adhere to men that publicly profess Murthers, and applaud the design of the Assassinating Poets.

But together with his Villanies, pray let his incoherences be observ'd. He commends the *Trimmers* (at least tacitly excuses them) for men of some moderation; and this in opposition to the instruments of wickedness of the *Catiline*-make, that are resolute and forward, and without consideration. But he forgets all this in the next twenty lines; for there he gives them their own, and tells them roundly, *in internecino bello medii pro hostibus habentur*. Neutral men are Traytors, and assist by their indifference to the destruction of the Government. The plain English of his meaning, is this; while matters are only in dispute, and in machination, he is contented they shou'd be moderate; but when once the Faction can bring about a Civil War, then they are Traytors, if they declare not openly for them.

But it is not, he says, the Duke of Guise, who is to be assassinated, a turbulent wicked and haughty Courtier, but an innocent and gentle Prince: By his favour, our Duke of Guise

Guise, was neither *Innocent* nor *Gentle*, nor a Prince of the *Blood Royal*, though he pretended to descend from *Charlemaign*, and a *Genealogy* was printed to that purpose, for which the Author was punish'd, as he deserv'd; witness *Davila*, and the *Journals* of *Henry the Third*, where the Story is at large related. Well, who is it then? why, 'tis a *Prince* who has no fault, but that he is the *Kings Son*: Then he has no fault by consequence; for I am certain, that's no fault of his. The rest of the *Complement*, is so silly, and so fulsome, as if he meant it all in *ridicule*. And to conclude the *Jest*, he says, that the best People of England, have no other way left, to show their *Loyalty* to the *King*, their *Religion* and *Government*, in long intervals of *Parliament*, than by prosecuting his Son, for the sake of the *King*, and his own merit, with all the *Demonstrations* of the highest esteem. Yes, I can tell them one other way to express their *Loyalty*, which is, to obey the *King*, and to respect his *Brother*, as the next *Lawful Successor*; their *Religion* commands them both, and the *Government* is secur'd in so doing. But why in *Intervals* of *Parliament*? How are the more oblig'd to honour the *Kings Son* out of *Parliament*, than in it? And why this prosecution of Love for the *Kings Sake*? Has he order'd more Love to be shown to one Son, than to another? Indeed, his own quality, is cause sufficient for all men to respect him, and I am of their number, who truly honour him, and who wish him better than this miserable *Sycophant*; for I wish him, from his Fathers *Royal Kindness* what *Justice* can make him, which is a greater Honour, than the *Rabble* can confer upon him.

But our Author finds, that *Commendation* is no more his *Talent*, than *Flattery* was that of *Esop's Ass*; and therefore falls immediately, from pawing with his fore-feet, and grinning

grinning upon one Prince, to downright braying against another.

He says I have not us'd my Patron Duke much better : for I have put him under a most dismal and unfortunate Character, of a Successor, excluded from the Crown by Act of State, for his Religion; who fought his way to the Crown, chang'd his Religion, and died by the hand of a Roman Assassin.

If it please his Royal Highness to be my Patron, I have reason to be proud of it ; because he never yet forsook any man, whom he has had the goodness to own for his. But how have I put him under an unfortunate Character ? the Authors of the Reflections, and our John a Nokes, have not layd their noddles together about this Accusation. For 'tis their business to prove the King of Navarre to have been a most successful, magnanimous, gentle, and grateful Prince : in which Character they have follow'd the stream of all Historians. How then happens this jarring amongst friends, that the same man is put under such dismal circumstances on one side, and so fortunate on the other, by the Writers of the same Party ? The answer is very plain, that they take the cause by several handles. They who will not have the Duke resemble the King of Navarre, have magnify'd the Character of that Prince, to debase his Royal Highness ; and therein done what they can to show the disparity. Mr. Hunt, who will have it to be the Dukes Character, has blacken'd that King as much as he is able, to show the likeness. Now this wou'd be ridiculous pleading at a Barr, by Lawyers retain'd for the same Cause ; and both sides wou'd call each other fools, because the Jury betwixt them wou'd be confounded, and perhaps the Judges too.

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But this it is to have a bad Cause, which puts men of necessity upon knavery; and that knavery is commonly found out. Well Mr. *Hunt* has in another place confess'd himself to be in *passion*, and that's the reason he is so grossly mistaken in opening of the Cause. For first the King of *Navarre* was neither under *dismall*, nor *unfortunate circumstances*. Before the end of that very Sentence, our Lawyer has confess'd that *he fought his way to the Crown*; that is, he gloriously vanquish'd all his Rebels, and happily possess'd his Inheritance many years after he had regain'd it. In the next place, he was *never excluded from the Crown by Act of State*. He chang'd his Religion indeed, but not till he had almost *weather'd the Storm*, recover'd the best part of his *Estate*, and gain'd some glorious *Victories in pitch'd Battels*; so that his *changing* cannot without injustice be attributed to his *fear*. Monsieur *Chiverny*, in his *Memoirs* of those times plainly tells us, that he *solemnly promis'd to his Predecessour Henry the Third, then dying, that he wou'd become a Romanist*; and *Davila*, though he says not this *directly*, yet *denyes it not*. By whose hands *Henry the fourth* died, is notoriously known; but it is invidiously urg'd, both by Mr. *Hunt* and the *Reflectors*: for we may, to our shame, remember, that a King of our own Country was *barbarously murther'd* by his *Subjects*, who profess'd the *same Religion*; though I believe that neither *Jaques Clement*, nor *Ravillac*, were *better Papists*, than the *Independents* and *Presbyterians* were *Protestants*: So that their *Argument* only proves that there are *Rogues* of all *Religions*: *Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra*. But Mr. *Hunt* follows his blow again, that I have offer'd a *Justification of an Act of Exclusion against a Popish Successour in a Protestant Kingdom*, by remembering what was done against the King of *Navarre*, who was *de facto* excluded by an *Act of State*. My Gentleman, I perceive, is very willing to call that an *Act of*
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Exclusion, and an Act of State, which is only in our Language, call'd a *Bill* : for *Henry the third* cou'd never be gain'd to pass it, though it was propos'd by the *three Estates* at *Blois*. The *Reflectors* are more modest ; for they profess, (though I am afraid it is somewhat against the grain) that a *Vote* of the House of *Commons* is not an Act : But the times are turn'd upon them, and they dare speak no other Language. Mr. *Hunt* indeed is a bold *Republican*, and tells you the bottom of their meaning. Yet why should it make the courage of his *Royal Highness* quail, to find himself under this representation ? which by our Authors favour, is neither *dismal*, nor *disastrous*. *Henry the Fourth* escap'd this dreadful Machine of the *League* : I say *dreadful* ; for the *three Estates* were at that time compos'd generally of *Guisards*, *factious*, *hot headed rebellious interressed men* : The King in possession, was but his *Brother-in-Law* ; and at that time publickly his *Enemy* ; for the King of *Navarre* was then in arms against him : and yet the sense of *Common Justice*, and the good of his *People* so prevail'd , that he withstood the Project of the *States*, which he also knew was levell'd at himself ; for had the *Exclusion* proceeded, he had been immediately lay'd by, and the *Lieutenancy of France* conferr'd on *Guise* : after which the Rebel wou'd certainly have put up his Title for the Crown. In the Case of his *Royal Highness*, only one of the *three Estates* have offer'd at the *Exclusion* ; and have been constantly oppos'd by the other two, and by his *Majesty* : Neither is it any way probable , that the like will ever be again attempted : For the *fatal Consequences*, as well as the *Illegality* of that Design , are seen through already by the *People*. So that instead of offering a *justification* of an Act of *Exclusion* , I have expos'd a *rebellious*, *impious*, and *fruitless* contrivance tending to it. If we look on the Parliament of *Paris*, when they were in their right wits,

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before they were *intoxicated* by the *League*, (at least wholly) we shall find them *addressing* to King *Henry the third* in another Key, concerning the King of *Navarr's Succession*, though he was at that time (as they call'd it) a *relaps'd Heretique*. And to this purpose I will quote a passage out of the *Journals of Henry the Third*, so much magnify'd by my Adversaries.

Towards the end of *September, 1585*. there was published at *Paris*, a Bull of *Excommunication*, against the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*: The Parliament of *Paris*, made their *Remonstrance* to the King upon it, which was both grave, and worthy of the Place they held, and of the Authority they have in this Kingdom. Saying, for conclusion, that *their Court had found the Style of this Bull, so full of Innovation, and so distant from the Modesty of antient Popes, that they could not understand in it, the voice of an Apostles Successor; forasmuch, as they found not in their Records, nor in the search of all Antiquity, that the Princes of France, had ever been subject to the Justice or Jurisdiction of the Pope, and they could not take it into consideration, till first he made appear the Right which he pretended in the Translation of Kingdoms, establish'd and ordain'd by Almighty God, before the Name of Pope was heard of in the World.* 'Tis plain by this, that the Parliament of *Paris*, acknowledg'd an inherent Right of Succession in the King of *Navarre*, though of a contrary Religion to their own: And though after the Duke of *Guise's* Murther at *Blois*, the City of *Paris* revolted from their Obedience to their King, pretending that he was fallen from the Crown, by reason of that and other Actions, with which they charg'd him; yet the sum of all their Power to renounce him, and create the Duke of *Mayenne Lieutenant General*, depended ultimately on the Popes authority; which as you see, but three years before, they had peremptorily denied.

The Colledg of Sorbonne began the Dance, by their Determination, that the *Kingly Right was forfeited*; and stripping him of all his *Dignities*, they call'd him plain *Henry de Valois*: after this, says my Author, *sixteen Rascals* (by which he means the Council, of that Number) having administred the Oath of Government to the Duke of Mayenne, to take in quality of Lievtenant General of the Estate and Crown of France; the same ridiculous Dignity, was confirm'd to him, by an imaginary Parliament, the true Parliament being detain'd Prisoners, in divers of the City-Gaols, and two new Seals were order'd to be immediately made, with this Inscription: The Seal of the Kingdom of France. I need not inlarge on this Relation, 'tis evident from hence, that the Sorbonists were the Original, and our Schismatiques in England, were the Copiers of Rebellion; that Paris began, and London follow'd.

The next Lines of my Author are, that a Gentleman of Paris, made the Duke of Mayenne's Picture to be drawn, with a Crown Imperial on his Head, and I have heard of an English Nobleman, who has at this day, the Picture of Old Oliver, with this Motto underneath it, *Utinam vixeris*. All this while, this cannot be reckon'd an Act of State, for the Deposing King Henry the Third; because it was an Act of *Ouvert Rebellion* in the Parisians: neither could the holding of the three Estates at Paris, afterwards, by the same Duke of Mayenne, devolve any Right on him, in prejudice of King Henry the Fourth; though those pretended States, declar'd his Title void, on the account of his Religion: because those Estates could neither be call'd nor holden, but by and under the Authority of the Lawful King. It wou'd take more time than I have allow'd, for this Vindication, or I cou'd easily

easily trace from the *French History*, what Misfortunes attended *France*, and how near it was to Ruine, by the Endeavors to alter the Succession. For first, it was actually *Dismembred*, the Duke of *Merceur* setting up a Principality in the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, *Independant* of the Crown: the Duke of *Mayenne* had an evident design to be elected King, by the favour of the *People* and the *Pope*: the young Dukes of *Guise* and of *Nemours*, aspir'd with the interest of the *Spaniards*, to be chosen, by their Marriage with the *Infanta Izabella*. The Duke of *Lorraine*, was for cantling out some part of *France*, which lay next his Territories; and the Duke of *Savoy*, had before the Death of *Henry the Third*, actually possess'd himself of the *Marquisate* of *Saluces*. But above all, the *Spaniards* fomented these Civil Wars, in hopes to reduce that flourishing Kingdom, under their own *Monarchy*. To as many, and as great Mischiefs, should we be evidently subject; if we should madly ingage our selves, in the like Practises of altering the *Succession*, which our Gracious King, in his Royal Wisdom well forsook; and has cut up that accursed Project by the Roots; which will render the memory of his *Justice* and *Prudence*, *Immortal* and *Sacred* to future Ages, for having not only preserv'd our present quiet, but secur'd the Peace of our Posterity.

'Tis clearly manifest, that no Act of State pass'd, to the *Exclusion* of either, the King of *Navarre*, or of *Henry the Fourth*; consider him, in either of the two circumstances: but *Oracle Hunt*, taking this for granted, wou'd prove *à fortiori*, that if a Protestant Prince, were actually excluded from a Popish Kingdom, then a Popish Successor is more reasonably to be excluded from a Protestant Kingdom; because, says he, a Protestant Prince, is under no Obligation to destroy his Popish Subjects, but a Popish Prince, is to destroy his Protestant Subjects: upon

which bare supposition, without farther Proof, he calls him *insufferable Tyrant*, and the worst of *Monsters*.

Now I take the matter quite otherwise, and bind myself to maintain, that there is not, nor can be any Obligation, for a King to destroy his Subjects of a contrary Perswasion, to the establish'd Religion of his Country: for *quatenus Subjects*, of what Religion soever, *he is infallibly bound* to preserve and cherish, and not to destroy them: and this is the first duty of a Lawful Sovereign, as such, antecedent to any tye or consideration of his Religion. Indeed, in those Countries where the *Inquisition* is introduc'd, it goes harder with *Protestants*, and the reason is manifest, because the Protestant Religion has not gotten footing there, and severity is the means to keep it out: But to make this instance, reach *England*, our Religion must not only be chang'd (which in it self, is almost impossible to imagine) but the Council of *Trent* receiv'd and the *Inquisition* admitted, which *many Popish Countries* have rejected. I forget not the Cruelties, which were exercis'd in Queen *Maries* time, against the *Protestants*; neither do I any way excuse them: But it follows not, that every *Popish Successor* shou'd take example by them, for every ones Conscience of the same Religion, is not guided by the same Dictates in his Government: Neither does it follow, that if one be cruel, another must; especially, when there is a stronger Obligation, and greater Interest to the contrary: For if a *Popish King* in *England* shou'd be bound to destroy his *Protestant People*, I wou'd ask the Question, over whom he meant to Reign afterwards? and how many Subjects would be left?

In Queen *Maries* time, the Protestant Religion had scarcely taken root: And it is reasonable to be suppos'd, that she found the number of Papists, equalling that of
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the Protestants, at her entrance to the Kingdom; especially if we reckon into the account those who were the *Trimmers* of the times; I mean such, who privately were Papists, though under her Protestant Predecessour they appear'd otherwise. Therefore her difficulties in persecuting her reform'd Subjects, were far from being so insuperable, as ours now are, when the strength and number of the Papists is so very inconsiderable. They who cast in the Church of *England* as ready to embrace *Popery*, are either *Knaves* enough to know they lye, or *Fools* enough not to have consider'd the *Tenents* of that Church, which are *diametrically opposite* to *Popery*; and more so than any of the *Sects*.

Not to insist on the quiet and security, which Protestant Subjects at this day enjoy in some parts of *Germany*, under Popish Princes; where I have been assur'd, that *Mass* is said, and a *Lutheran Sermon* preach'd in different parts of the same Church, on the same day, without disturbance on either side; nor on the Priviledges granted by *Henry the Fourth* of *France* to his Party, after he had forsaken their Opinions, which they quietly possess'd for a long time after his death:

The *French Histories* are full of *Examples*, manifestly proving, that the fiercest of their *Popish Princes* have not thought themselves bound to destroy their *Protestant Subjects*: and the several *Edicts* granted under them, in favor of the *Reform'd Religion*, are pregnant instances of this truth. I am not much given to Quotations, but *Davila* lies open for every man to read. *Tolerations*, and free exercise of *Religion*, granted more *amply* in some, more *restrain'dly* in others, are no sign that those Princes held themselves oblig'd in *Conscience* to destroy men of a different Perswasion. It will be said those *Tolerations* were gain'd by force
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of *Arms* : In the first place 'tis no great credit to the Protestant Religion, that the Protestants in *France* were actually *Rebels*. But the truth is, they were only *Geneva Protestants*, and their opinions were far distant from those of the Church of *England*, which teaches *passive obedience* to all her Sons, and not to propagate *Religion* by *Rebellion*. But 'tis further to be consider'd, that those *French Kings*, though *Papists*, thought the preservation of their Subjects, and the publick Peace, were to be consider'd, before the gratification of the Court of *Rome*; and though the number of the *Papists*, exceeded that of the *Protestants*, in the proportion of three to one; though the Protestants were always beaten when they fought, and though the Popes press'd continually with Exhortations and Threatnings to extirpate *Calvinism*, yet Kings thought it enough to continue in their own Religion themselves, without forcing it upon their Subjects, much less destroying them who profess'd another. But it will be objected those Edicts of Toleration were not kept on the *Papists* side: They wou'd answer, because the Protestants stretch'd their Privileges further than was granted: and that they often relaps'd into *Rebellion*: But whether or no the *Protestants* were in fault, I leave History to determine: 'tis matter of fact, that they were barbarously *massacred*, under the protection of the *Publick Faith*: Therefore to argue fairly, either an Oath from *Protestants* is not to be taken by a *Popish Prince*; or if taken, ought inviolably to be preserv'd. For when we oblige our selves to any one, 'tis not his person we so much consider, as that of the most high God, who is call'd to witness this our action: and 'tis to him we are to discharge our Conscience. Neither is there, or can be any tie on *humane Society*, when that of an Oath is no more regarded: which being an appeal to God, he is immediate Judge of it; and Chronicles are not silent how often he has punish'd perjur'd Kings. The instance of
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Vladislaus King of *Hungary*, breaking his faith with *Amurath the Turk*, at the instigation of *Julian the Popes Legate*, and his miserable death ensuing it, shows that even to *Infidels*, much more to *Christians*, that obligation ought to be accounted sacred. And I the rather urge this, because it is an Argument taken almost *verbatim* from a *Papist*, who accuses *Catharine de Medicis* for violating her word given to the *Protestants* during her *Regency of France*. What securities in particular we have, that our own Religion and Liberties wou'd be preserv'd, though under a *Papist Successour*, any one may inform himself at large in a Book lately written by the Reverend and learned Doctor *Hicks*, call'd *Jovian*, in answer to *Julian the Apostate*: in which, that truly Christian Author has satisfy'd all scruples which reasonable men can make, and prov'd that we are in no danger of losing either; and wherein also, if those assurances shou'd all fail (which is almost morally impossible) the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* is *unanswerably demonstrated*: a Doctrine deliver'd with so much sincerity, and resignation of spirit, that it seems evident the Assertor of it is ready, if there were occasion, to seal it with his blood.

I have done with mannerly Mr. *Hunt*, who is only *magninominis umbra*; the most *malicious*, and withal, the most *incoherent ignorant Scribler* of the whole Party. I insult not over his misfortunes, though he has himself occasion'd them: and though I will not take his own excuse, that he is in passion, I will make a better for him; for I conclude him crack'd: and if he should return to *England*, am charitable enough to wish his only Prison might be *Bedlam*. This Apology is truer than that he makes for me: for *writing a Play*, as I conceive, is not entring into the *Observers Province*; neither is it the *Observers manner to confound truth with falsehood, to put out the eyes of*
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People, and leave them without understanding. The quarrel of the Party to him, is that he has undeceiv'd the ignorant, and laid open the shameful contrivances of the new *vamp Association*: that though he is on the wrong side of life, as he calls it, yet he pleads not his Age to be *Emeritus*: that in short, he has left the Faction as bare of Arguments, as *Esops Bird* of feathers; and plum'd them of all those fallacies and evasions which they borrowed from *Jesuits* and *Presbyterians*.

Now for my *Templar* and *Poet* in association for a *Libel*, like the Conjunction of *Saturn* and *Jupiter* in a fiery Sign: what the one wants in *Wit*, the other must supply in *Law*. As for Malice, their quota's are indifferently well adjusted: the rough Draught I take for granted, is the *Poets*, the finishings the *Lawyers*. They begin, that in order to one Mr. *Friend's* commands, one of them went to see the Play. This was not the *Poet*, I am certain, for nobody saw him there, and he is not of a Size to be conceal'd. But the *Mountain*, they say, was deliver'd of a *Mouse*: I have been Gossip to many such Labors of a dull fat Scribler, where the *Mountain* has been bigger, and the *Mouse* less. The next Sally, is on the *City Elections*, and a Charge is brought against my *Lord Mayor*, and the two *Sheriffs*, for excluding true *Electors*. I have heard, that a *Whig Gentleman* of the *Temple*, hired a *Livery-Gown*, to give his Voice among the *Companies* at *Guild-Hall*: let the question be put, whether or no, he were a true *Electer*? Then their own *Juries* are commended from several *Topiques*; they are the *Wiseest*, *Richest*, and most *Conscientious*: to which is answer'd *Ignoramus*. But our *Juries* give most prodigious and unheard of Damages. Hithero there is nothing but *Boys-play* in our Authors: My Mill grinds Pepper and Spice, your Mill grinds Rats and Mice. They go on, if I may be allow'd to judge

judge (as men that do not *Poetize*, may be Judges of Wit, *Humane nature* and *Common Decencies* :) So then the Sentence is begun with *I* : there is but one of them puts in for a Judges Place : *that's he in the Gray* : but presently 'tis men; *two more in Buckram*, wou'd be Judges too. Neither of them it seems, *Poetize* ; that's true, but both of them are in at *Rhime Doggrel* ; witness the Song against the *Bishops*, and the *Tunbridge-Ballad*. By the way, I find all my Scribling Enemies have a mind to be Judges, and Chief Barons : proceed Gentlemen. *This Play* (as I am inform'd by some, who have a nearer Communication with the Poets and the Players, than I have.) Which of the two *Sofia's* is it that now speaks? If the Lawyer, 'tis true, he has but little Communication with the Players : if the Poet, the Players have but little Communication with him. For 'tis not long ago, he said to some body, *By G— my Lord, those Tory-rogues will act none of my Plays*. Well, but the Accusation, that this Play was once written by another, and then 'twas call'd the *Parisian Massacre* : Such a Play, I have heard indeed was written; but I never saw it. Whether this be any of it or no, I can say no more, than for my own part of it. But pray, who denies the unparalleled villany of the *Papists*, in that bloody *Massacre*? I have enquired, why it was not Acted, and heard it was stopt, by the interposition of an *Ambassador*, who was willing to save the Credit of his Country, and not to have the Memory of an Action so barbarous, reviv'd. But that I tempted my Friend to alter it, is a notorious *Whiggism* to save the broader Word. The *Sicilian Vespers* I have had Plotted by me above these seven years : The Story of it, I found under borrow'd Names in *Giraldus Cinthio* ; but the Rape in my Tragedy of *Amboyna*, was so like it, that I forbore the Writing. But what had this to do with *Protestants*? for the *Massacres* and the *Massacred* were all *Papists*.

But 'tis observable, they say, that though the *Massacre* could not be acted, as it was first written against *Papists*, yet when it was turn'd upon *Protestants*, it found reception.

Now all's come out, the Scandal of the Story, turns at last upon the *Government*: that *Patronises Popish Plays*, and forbids *Protestant*. Ours is to be a *Popish Play*, why? because it exposes the Villany of *Sectaries* and *Rebels*? Prove them first to be *Protestants*, and see what you will get by it when you have done? your Party are certainly the men whom the Play attacks; and so far I will help you: the Designs and Actions represented in the Play, are such as you have Copied from the *League*; for though you have wickedness enough, yet you wanted the *Wit* to make a new *Contrivance*. But for shame, while you are carrying on such palpable villany, do not assume the name of *Protestants*. You will tell us, you are friends to the *Government*, and the Kings best *Subjects*; but all the while, you are aspersing both *it* and *him*. Who shall be Judges, whether you are Friends or not? the *Government* or *you*? Have not all *Rebels* always sung the same Song? Was ever Thief or Murtherer Fool enough to plead *Guilty*? For your Love and Loyalty to the King, they who mean him best amongst you, are no better Subjects than *Duke Trinculo*: They wou'd be content he shou'd be *Viceroy*, so they may be *Viceroy*s over him.

The next Accusation is particular to me, that I the said Bays, wou'd falsely and felloniously, have robb'd Nat. Lee, of his share in the Reputation of *Oedipus*: Now I am Culprit; I writ the first and third Acts of *Oedipus*, and drew the Scenary of the whole Play: when ever I have own'd a farther Proportion, let my Accusers speak: this was

was meant mischievously, to set us two at variance: Who is the *old Serpent* and *Satan* now? When my Friends help my barren Fancy, I am thankful for it: I do not use to receive assistance, and afterwards ungratefully disown it.

Not long after, *Exemplary Punishment* is due to me, for this most *devilish Parallel*. 'Tis a devilish one indeed; but who can help it, if I draw *Devils* like *one another*, the fault is in themselves for being so: I neither made their Horns nor Claws, nor cloven Feet: I know not what I shou'd have done, unless I had drawn the *Devil* a *handsom proper Gentleman*, like the Painter in the Fable, to have made a *Friend* of him; but I ought to be *exemplarily punish'd* for it; when the *Devil* gets *uppermost*, I shall expect it. In the mean time, let Magistrates (that respect their Oaths and Office) which words you see, are put into a *Parenthesis*, as (if God help us) we had none such now; let them put the Law in execution, against *lewd Scriblers*, the *Mark* will be too *fair* upon a *Pillory*, for a *Turnip* or a *rotten Egg* to *miss* it. But for my part, I have not Malice enough, to wish him so much harm; not so much as to have a Hair of his head perish, much less, that one whole side of it should be dismantled: I am no Informer who writ such a Song, or such a *Libel*, if the *Dulness* betrays him not, he is *safe* for me. And may the same *dulness* preserve him ever from *publick Justice*: 'tis a sufficient thick *Mud-wall*, betwixt him and *Law*: 'tis his Guardian Angel, that protects him from Punishment, because in spite of him, he cannot deserve it. 'Tis that which preserves him innocent, when he means most mischief; and makes him a *Saint*, when he intends to be a *Devil*. He can never offend enough, to need the Mercy of the Government; for 'tis *beholding* to him, that he writes against it: and he never offers at a

Satyr, but he converts his Readers to the contrary Opinion.

Some of the succeeding Paragraphs, are intended for very Ciceronian: There the Lawyer flourishes in the Pulpit, and the Poet stands in Socks amongst the Crowd to hear him. Now for Narration, Refutation, Calumniation, Aggravation, and the whole Artillery of Tropes and Figures, to defend the Proceedings at Guild-Hall: the most minute circumstances of the Elections, are describ'd so lively, that a man, who had not heard he was there in a Livery-Gown, might suspect, there was a *quorum pars magna fui* in the Case: and multitudes of Electors, just as well qualified as himself, might give their Party the greater Number: but throw back their guilt Shillings, which were told for Guinies, and their true Summ was considerably less. Well, there was no Rebellion at this time, therefore says my Adversary, there was no Parallel. 'Tis true, there was no Rebellion; but whoever told him, that I intended this Parallel so far? if the likeness had been throughout, I may guess by their good will to me, that I had never liv'd to write it. But to show his mistake, which I believe wilful, the Play was wholly written a month or two before the last Election of the Sheriffs. Yet, it seems there was some kind of Prophecie in the Case: and till the Faction gets clear of a Riot, a part of the Comparison will hold even there; yet, if he pleases to remember, there has been a King of England forc'd by the Inhabitants from his Imperial Town. 'Tis true, the Son has had better fortune than the Father; but the reason is, that he has now a stronger Party in the City, than his Enemies: the Government of it is secur'd in Loyal and Prudent Hands, and the Party is too weak to push their designs farther. They rescued not their beloved Sheriffs, at a time (he tells you) when they had most important use

use of them. What the importancy of the occasion was, I will not search; 'tis well if their own Consciences will acquit them. But let them be never so much belov'd, their Adherents knew it was a Lawful Authority that sent them to the *Tower*; and an Authority, which to their sorrow, they were not able to *resist*: so that if four men guarded them without disturbance, and to the contempt of their strength, at broad noon day, and at full Exchange time, it was no more their honesty, to stand looking on with their hands in their Pockets, than it is of a small Band of *Robbers*, to let a *Caravan* go by, which is too strong for them to assault.

After this, I am call'd after the old rate, *loose and infamous Scribler*, and 'tis well I scape so cheap: bear your good fortune moderately, Mr. *Poet*: for as loose and as infamous as I am, if I had written for your Party, your Pension wou'd have been cut off, as useless. But they must take up with *Settle*, and such as they can get: *Bartholomew-Fair Writers*, and *Bartholomew-Close Printers*; there's a famine of Wit amongst them, they are forc'd to give unconscionable rates, and after all to have only Carrion for their money.

Then I am an ignorant fellow for not knowing there were no *Juries in Paris*: I do not remember I have written any such thing: but whoever did, I am confident it was not his *ignorance*. Perhaps he had a mind to bring the case a little nearer home: if they had not *Juries in Paris*, we had them from the *Normans*, who were *French-men*: and as you manag'd them, we had as good have had none in *London*: Let it satisfie you we have them now; and some of your loose and infamous Sriblers may come to understand it a little better.

The next is the Justification of a Noble Peer deceas'd: the Case is known, and I have no quarrel to his memory: let

let it sleep; he is now before another Judge. Immediately after I am said to have intended *an abuse to the House of Commons*; which is call'd by our Authors, *the most August Assembly of Europe*. They are to prove I have abus'd that House; but 'tis manifest they have lessen'd the House of Lords, by owning the Commons to be the *more August Assembly*. 'Tis an House chosen (they say) by every Protestant who has a considerable Inheritance in England; which word *considerable* signifies forty shillings *per annum* of free Land. For the interest of the loyal Party, so much undervalued by our Authors, they have long agoe confess'd in print, that the Nobility and Gentry have disown'd them: and the Yeomanry have at last consider'd, *quis hæc consecimus arva?* they have had enough of unlawful and arbitrary power; and know to their cost, what *an August Assembly* they had once without a King and House of Peers.

But now they have me in a burning scent, and run after me full cry: *Was ever such licence conniv'd at yet, in an impious Libeller and Scribler, that the Succession, so solemn a matter, that is not fit to be debated of but in Parliament, shou'd be profan'd so far as to be playd with on the Stage?*

Hold a little, Gentlemen, hold a little (as one of your fellow Citizens says in the Duke of Guise:) Is it so *unlawful* for me to argue *for the Succession in the right Line* upon the Stage; and is it so very *lawful* for Mr. Hunt, and the Scriblers of your Party, to oppose it in their *Libels* off the Stage? Is it so sacred, that a Parliament only is suffer'd to debate it, and dare you run it down both in your Discourses and Pamphlets out of Parliament? In conscience what can you urge against me, which I cannot return an hundred times heavier on yon? And by the way you tell me, that to affirm the contrary to this, is a *Præmunire*

munire against the Statute of the 13. of *Eliz.* If such a *Premunire* be, pray answer me who has most incur'd it? In the mean time do me the favour to look into the *Statute-Book*, and see if you can find the *Statute*: you know your selves, or you have been told it, that this *Statute* is virtually *repeal'd*, by that of the first of King *James*, acknowledging his *immediate lawfull and undoubted right to this Imperial Crown, as the next lineal Heir*: those last words are an *implicit anti-declaration* to the *Statute* in Queen *Elizabeth*, which for that reason is now omitted in our Books. The lawful Authority of an House of Commons I acknowledge; but without fear and trembling, as my *Reflectors* wou'd have it: For why shou'd I fear my *Representatives*? they are summon'd to consult about the publick good, and not to frighten those who chose them. 'Tis for you to tremble who *libel the supream Authority of the Nation*. But we knavish Coxcombs and Villains are to know, say my Authors, that *a Vote is the opinion of that House*. Lord help our understandings that know not this without their telling! What *English-man* do you think does not honour his Representatives, and with a Parliament void of heats and animosities, to secure the quiet of the Nation? You cite his Majesties last *Declaration* against those who dare trifle with Parliaments: (a Declaration by the way, which you endeavour'd not to have read publickly in Churches, with a threatening to those that did it.) But we still declare (says his Majesty) that no irregularities of Parliament shall make us out of love with them: Are not you unfortunate Quoters why now, shou'd you rub up the remembrance of those irregularities mention'd in that *Declaration*, which caus'd, as the King informs us, its dissolution?

The next Paragraph is already answer'd; 'tis only a clumsy Commendation of the D. of M. copied after Mr. *Hunt*, and a proof that he is unlike the Duke of Guise.

After

After having done my drudgery for me, and having most officiously prov'd that the *English Duke*, is no Parallel for the *French*; which I am sure he is not, they are next to do their own business, which is, that I meant a Parallel betwixt *Henry the Third*, and our most gracious *Sovereign*. But, as fallacies are always couch'd in general Propositions, they plead the whole course of the *Drama*, which, they say, *seems* to insinuate my intentions. One may see to what a miserable shift they are driven: when, for want of any one instance, to which I challenge them, they have only to alledge, that the Play *SEEMS* to insinuate it. I answer, it does not seem, which is a *bare Negative* to a *bare Affirmative*; and then we are just where we were before. Fat *Falstaffe* was never set harder by the Prince for a *Reason*, when he answer'd, that *if Reasons grew as thick as Black-berries, he wou'd not give one*. Well, after long pumping, lest the lie shou'd appear quite barefac'd, they have found, I said, that at *King Henry's Birth*, there shone a *Regal Star*: so there did at *King Charles the seconds*: therefore I have made a *Parallel* betwixt *Henry the third*, and *Charles the second*. A very concluding *Sillogism*, if I shou'd answer it no farther.

Now let us look upon the Play, the words are in the *fourth Act*. The Conjuror there is asking his Devil, *what Fortune attended his Master, the Guise, and what the King?* The familiar answers concerning the King. *He cannot be Depos'd, he may be kill'd; a violent Fate attends him: but at his Birth, there shone a Regal Star, (Conj.)* My Master had a stronger, (*Devil*) *no not a stronger, but more Popular*. Let the whole Scene (which is one of the best in the Tragedy, though murder'd in the *Acting*) be read together; and it will be as clear as day-light, that

that the *Devil* gave an *Astrological* account of the *French Kings Horoscope*: that the *Regal Star*, then *culminating*, was the *Sun* in the *tenth House* or *Mid-heaven*; which *Cæteris paribus* is a *Regal Nativity* in that Art. The rest of the Scene confirms what I have said: for the *Devil* has taken the *Position* of the *Heaven's*, or *Scheam* of the *World*, at the point of the *Suns entrance into Aries*: I dispute not here the *Truth* or *Lawfulness* of that Art; but 'tis usual with *Poets*, especially with the *Italians*, to mix *Astrology* in their *Poems*: *Chawcer*, amongst us, is frequent in it; but this Revolution particularly I have taken out of *Luigi Pulci*, and there is one almost the same in *Boiardo's Orlando Inamorato*. Now if these *Poets* knew, that a *Star* were to appear at our *Kings Birth*, they were better *Prophets* than *Nostradamus*, who has told us nothing of it. Yet this they say is *Treason with a Witness*, and one of the *Crimes* for which they condemn'd me to be hang'd drawn and quarter'd: I find they do not believe me to be one of their Party at the bottom, by their charitable wishes to me; and am proud enough, to think I have done them some little mischief, because they are so desirous to be rid of me. But if *Jack Ketch* must needs have the handling of us *Poets*, let him begin first where he may take the *deepest Say*: let me be hang'd, but in my turn; for I am sure I am neither the *fattest Scribler* nor the *worst*; I'll be judg'd by their own Party. But for all our Comforts, the days of hanging are a little out of date: and I hope there will be no more *Treason with a Witness*, or *Witnesses*; for now there is no more to be got by *Swearing*, and the *Market is over-stock'd besides*.

But are you in earnest, when you say I have made *Henry the Third* fearful, weak, bloody, perfidious, hypocritical and fawning in the Play? I am sure an unbiass'd Reader will find a more favourable image of him

Witnesses
Pillane
Pillane

in the *Tragedy*; what ever he was out of it. You wou'd not have told a lye so shameless, but that you were resolv'd to second it with a worse; that I made a *Parallel* of that *Prince*. And now it comes to my turn, pray let me ask you, why you spend three Pages and a half; in heaping up all the villanies true or false, which you can rake together, to blast his memory? Why is all this pains taken, to expose the *Person* of King *Henry the Third*? Are you *Leaguers*, or *Covenanters*, or *Associators*? What has the poor dead man done to nettle you? Were his *Rebels* your *Friends*, or your *Relations*? Were your *Norman* Ancestors of any of those Families, which were Conspirators in the Play? I smell a Rat in this business: *Henry the Third* is not taken thus to task for nothing. Let me tell you, this is little better than an implicate confession of the *Parallel* which I intended. This Gentleman of *Valois* sticks in your stomachs: and though I do not defend his Proceedings in the States, any otherwise, than by the inevitable necessity which caus'd them, yet acknowledging *his Crime*, does not extenuate *their Guilt*, that forc'd him to it. 'Twas bad on both sides, but the *Revenge* was not so wicked as the *Treason*: for 'twas a *voluntary* act of theirs, and a *compell'd* one of his. The short on't is, he took a violent course to cut up the *Covenant* by the *Roots*; and there's your quarrel to him.

Now for a long winded Panegyrique of the King of *Navarre*: and here I am sure they are in earnest, when they take such over pains, to prove there is no likeness, where they say I intended it. The *Heroe* at whom their malice is level'd, does but laugh at it I believe: And amongst the other vertues of that Predecessor, wants neither his *Justice* nor his *Clemency*, to forgive all the Heads of the *League*, as fast as they submit: As for obliging

obliging them, (which our Authors wou'd fain hook in for an Ingredient) let them be satisfied, that no more Enemies are to be bought off with Places and Preferments: the Tryal which has been made in two Kings Reigns, will warn the Family from so *fruitless* and *dangerous* an *Expedient*. The rest is already answer'd, in what I have said to Mr. *Hunt*; but I thank them by the way, for their instance of the fellow, whom the King of *Navarre* had pardon'd, and done good to, yet he wou'd not love him: for that Story reaches home somewhere.

I must make haste, to get out of hearing from this *Bil-linggate Oratory*; and indeed, to make an end with these Authors, except I could call Rogue and Rascal as fast as they. Let us examine the little reason they produce, concerning the *Exclusion*.

Did the Pope, the Clergy, the Nobility and Commonalty of France think it reasonable to exclude a Prince for professing a different Religion, and will the Papists be angry if the Protestants be of the same Opinion? No sure, they cannot have the impudence.

First, here's the *different Religion* taken for granted, which was never prov'd on one side: though in the King of *Navarre*, it was openly profess'd. Then the *Pope*, and the *three Estates of France* had no power to alter the *Succession*, neither did the King in being, consent to it: or afterwards, did the greater part of the *Nobility, Clergy* and *Gentry* adhere to the *Exclusion*, but maintain'd the *lawful King* successfully against it; as we are bound to do in *England*, by the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*; made for the benefit of our Kings, and their Successors: The Objections concerning which Oath, are fully answer'd by *Doctor Hicks*, in his Preface to *Jovian*, and thither I refer the Reader.

They tell us, that what it concerns *Protestants* to do in that case, enough has been heard by us in *Parliament Debates*.

I answer, that *Debates* coming not by an *Act* to any *Issue*, conclude that there is nothing to be done against a *Law* establish'd, and *fundamental* of the *Monarchy*. They dare not infer a Right of taking up *Arms*, by vertue of a *Debate* or *Vote*, and yet they tacitly *insinuate* this : I ask them, what it does concern *Protestants* to do in this case, and whether they mean any thing by that expression ? They have hamper'd themselves before they were aware ; for they proceed in the very next lines to tell us, they believe *the Crown* of England being *Hereditary*, *the next in Blood*, have an *undoubted right* to succeed, unless God make them, or they make themselves *incapable* of *Reigning* : So that according to them, if either of those two *Impediments* shall happen, then it concerns the *Protestants* of *England* to do that something, which if they had spoken out, had been direct *Treason*. Here's fine *Legerdemain* amongst them ; they have acknowledg'd a *Vote* to be no more than the *Opinion* of an *House*, and yet from a *Debate*, which was abortive before it quicken'd into a *Vote*, they argue after the old Song, *that there's something more to be done, which you cannot chuse but guess*. In the next place, there's no such thing as *Incapacity* to be suppos'd, in the immediate *Successor* of the *Crown* ; That is, the *rightful Heir* cannot be made *incapable* on any account whatsoever to succeed. It may please God, that he may be *inhabilis*, or *inidoneus ad gerendam Rempublicam*, *unfit or unable to govern the Kingdom* ; but this is no *impediment* to his *right* of reigning ; he cannot either be *excluded* or *depos'd* for such imperfection : For the *Laws* which have provided for *private* men in this case, have also made provision for the *Sovereign* and for the *Publick* : and
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the Council of State or the next of Blood, is to administer the Kingdom for him. *Charles the sixth of France* (for I think we have no *English* Examples which will reach it) forfeited not his Kingdom by his *Lunacy*, though a victorious King of *England* was then knocking at his Gates; but all things under his Name, and by his Authority, were manag'd. The case is the same, betwixt a King *non compos mentis*, and one who is *nondum compos mentis*, a distracted or an Infant King. Then the People cannot incapacitate the King, because he derives not his Right from them, but from God only: neither can any *Action*, much less *Opinion* of a Sovereign, render him *uncapable* for the same reason; excepting only a *voluntary Resignation* to his *immediate Heir*, as in the case of *Charles the fifth*: for that of our *Richard the second* was *invalid*, because *forc'd*; and not made to the next *Successor*.

Neither does it follow, as our Authors urge, that an *unalterable Succession* supposes *England* to be the Kings *Estate*, and the People his *Goods and Chattels* on it: For the preservation of his *Right*, destroys not our *Propriety*, but maintains us in it. He has ty'd himself by *Law*, not to invade our Possessions, and we have oblig'd our selves as *Subjects* to him and all his *lawful Successors*: By which *irrevocable Act* of ours, both for our selves and our *Posterity*, we can no more exclude the *Successor*, than we can depose the *present King*. The *Estate of England* is indeed the Kings, and I may safely grant their supposition, as to the *Government of England*: but it follows not, that the *People* are his *Goods and Chattels* on it; for then he might sell, alienate, or destroy them as he pleas'd, from all which he has ty'd himself by the *Liberties and Priviledges* which he has granted us by *Laws*.

There's

There's little else material in this Pamphlet: for to say, *I wou'd insinuate into the King, a hatred to his capital City,* is to say, he shou'd hate his best friends, the last and the present Lord Mayor, our two Honourable Sheriffs, the Court of Aldermen, the worthy and Loyal Mr. Common Serjeant, with the rest of the Officers, who are generally well affected, and who have kept out their factious Mem- from its Government. To say I wou'd insinuate a scorn of Authority in the City, is in effect, to grant the *Parallel* in the *Play*: For the authority of *Tumults* and *Seditions* is only scorn'd in it: an Authority which they deriv'd not from the *Crown*, but exercis'd against it. And for them to confess I expos'd this, is to confess that *London* was like *Paris*.

They conclude with a Prayer to *Almighty God*: (in which I therefore believe the Poet did not club:) to libel the King through all the Pamphlet, and to pray for him in the conclusion, is an action of more prudence in them than of piety: perhaps they might hope to be forgiven, as one of their Predecessors was by King *James*; who after he had rail'd at him abundantly, ended his *Lampoon* with these two Verses.

*Now God preserve our King, Queen, Prince and Peers,
And grant the Author long may wear his Ears.*

To

To take a short review of the whole ; 'Tis manifest, that there is no such *Parallel* in the *Play*, as the *Faction* have pretended : that the *Story* wou'd not bear one where they have plac'd it ; and that I cou'd not reasonably intend one, so contrary to the nature of the *Play*, and so repugnant to the *Principles* of the *Loyal Party*. On the other side, 'tis clear, that the *Principles* and *Practices* of the *Publick Enemies*, have both formerly resembled those of the *League*, and continue to hold the same *Resemblance*. It appears by the outcry of the *Party* before the *Play* was acted, that they dreaded and foresaw the bringing of the *Faction* upon the *Stage* : and by the hasty printing of *Mr. Hunts Libel*, and the *Reflections*, before the *Tragedy* was publish'd, that they were infinitely concern'd to prevent any farther operation of it. It appears from the general consent of the *Audiences*, that *Their Party* were known to be represented ; and *Themselves* own'd openly by their hissing, that they were incens'd at it, as an *Object* which they cou'd not bear. 'Tis evident by their endeavours to shift off this *Parallel* from *Their Side*, that their *Principles* are too shameful to be maintain'd : 'Tis notorious, that *They*, and *They only* have made the *Parallel* betwixt the *Duke of Guise* and the *Duke of M.* And that in *Revenge*
for

for the manifest likeness they find in the Parties themselves, they have carried up the Parallel to the Heads of the Parties, where there is no Resemblance at all. Under which colour, while they pretend to advert upon One Libell, they set up Another : For what resemblance cou'd they suggest betwixt two persons so unlike in their descent, the qualities of their minds, and the disparity of their war-like Actions, if they grant not, that there is a Faction here, which is like that other that was in France ? so that if they do not first acknowledge one Common Cause, there is no foundation for a Parallel. The Dilemma therefore lies strong upon them ; and let them avoid it, if they can : that either they must avow the wickedness of their designs, or disown the likeness of those two persons. I do further charge those audacious Authors, that they themselves have made the Parallel which they call Mine, and that under the covert of this Parallel they have odiously compar'd our present King with King Henry the Third. And farther, that they have forc'd this Parallel expressly to wound his Majesty in the Comparison. For since there is a Parallel (as they would have it) it must be either *Theirs* or *Mine*. I have prov'd that it cannot possibly be *Mine* ; and in so doing, that it must be *Theirs* by consequence. Under this shadow all the Vices of the French King are charg'd

charg'd by those Libellers (by a side-wind) upon Ours : And 'tis indeed the bottom of their design to make the King, cheap ; his Royal Brother, odious ; and to alter the course of the Succession.

Now after the Malice of this sputtering Triumvirate (Mr. Hunt, and the Two Reflectors) against the Person and Dignity of the King, and against all that endeavour to serve him (which makes their hatred to his Cause apparent,) the very charging of our Play to be a Libel, and such a Parallel as these Ignoramus's wou'd render it, is almost as great an affront to his Majesty, as the Libellous Picture it self, by which they have expos'd him to his Subjects : for it is no longer our Parallel, but the Kings, by whose Order it was Acted, without any shuffling or importunity from the Poets ; The Tragedy (cry'd the Faction) is a Libel against such and such Illustrious Persons. Upon this the Play was stopt, examin'd, acquitted, and order'd to be brought upon the Stage : Not one stroke in't, of a Resemblance to answer the Scope and intent of the Complaint. There were some Features indeed, that the Illustrious Mr. Hunt, and his brace of Beagles (the Reflectors) might see resembling theirs. And no other Parallel either found or meant, but betwixt the French Leaguers and Ours : and so far the A-

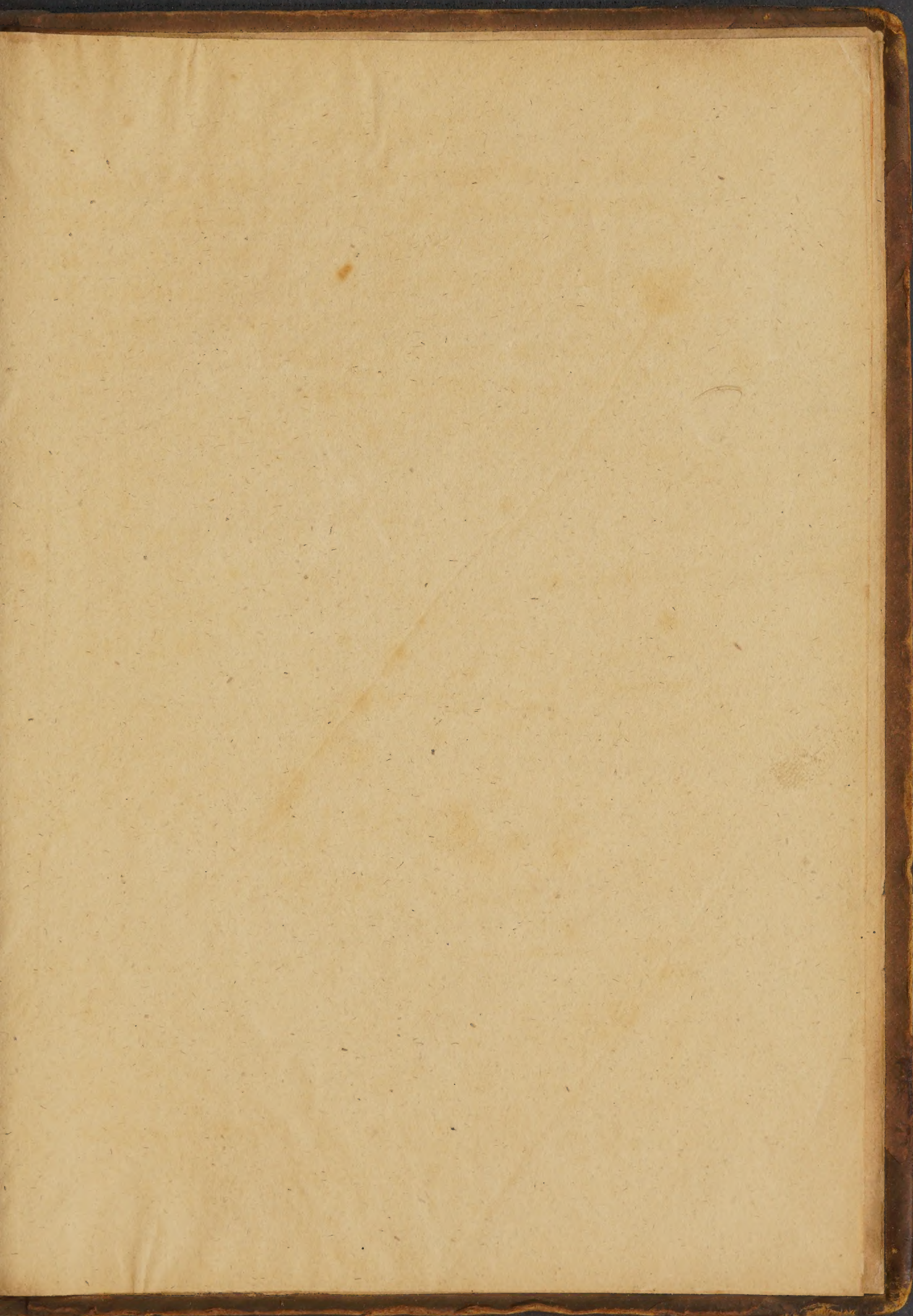
greement held from Point to Point, as true as a couple of Tallies. But when neither the King, nor my Lord Chamberlain, with other honourable Persons of eminent Faith, Integrity and Understanding, upon a strict perusal of the Papers, cou'd find one syllable to countenance the Calumny; up starts the Defender of the Charter, &c. opens his Mouth, and says; What d'ye talk of the King? he's abus'd, he's impos'd upon. Is my Lord Chamberlain and the Scrutineers that succeed him, to tell us, when the King and the Duke of York are abus'd? What says my Lord Chief Baron of Ireland to the business? What says the Livery-man Templer? What says Og the King of Basan to't? We are men that stand up for the Kings Supremacy in all Causes, and over all Persons, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, next and immediately under God and the PEOPLE. We are for easing his Royal Highness of his Title to the Crown, and the Cares that attend any such Prospect; and shall we see the King and the Royal Family parallel'd at this rate, and not reflect upon't?

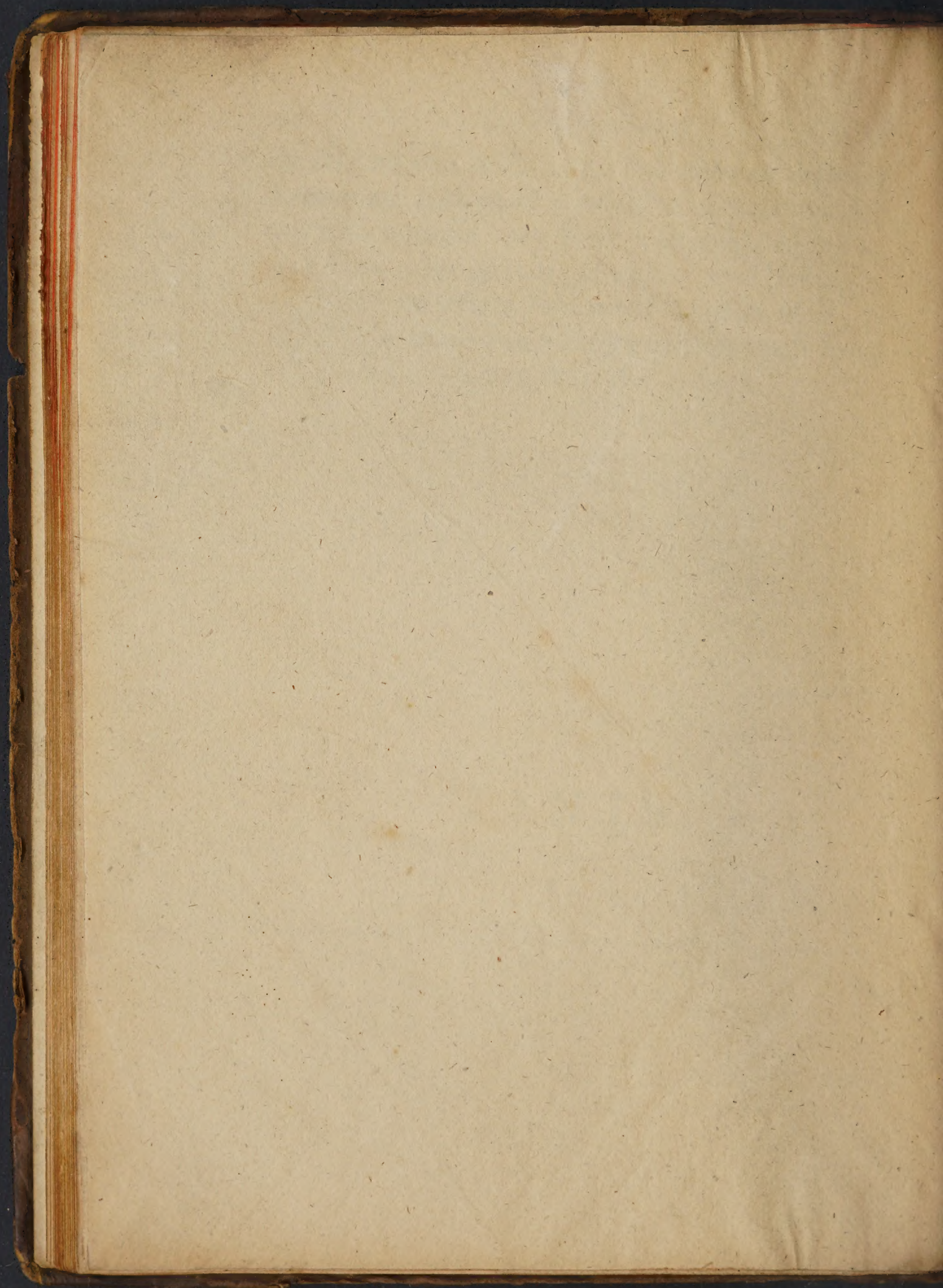
But to draw to an End. Upon the laying of matters fairly together, what a King have these Balderdash Scriblers given us, under the Resemblance of Henry the Third? How scandalous a Character

Character again, of his Majesty, in telling the World that he is *Libell'd*, and *Affronted* to his face, told on't, pointed to't, and yet neither *He*, nor Those about him can be brought to see or understand it. There needs no more to expound the meaning of these People, than to compare them with *Themselves* : when it will evidently appear, that their *Lives* and *Conversations*, their *Writings* and their *Practices* do all take the same *Bias* : and when they dare not any longer revile his Majesty or his Government point blank, they have an intention to play the Libellers in *Masquerade*, and do the same thing in a way of *Mystery* and *Parable*. This is truly the Case of the *Pretended Parallel*. They lay their Heads together, and compose the Lewdest Character of a Prince that can be imagin'd, and then exhibit that Monster to the People as the *Picture* of the King in the *Duke of Guise* : So that the *Libel* passes for current with the *Multitude*, whoever was the *Author* of it : And it will be but Common Justice to give the Devil his due. But, the truth is, their contrivances are now so manifest, that their Party moulders both in Town and Country : (for I will not suspect that there are any of them left in Court.) Deluded well-meaners come over out of honesty, and small offenders out of common discretion, or fear. None will
shortly

shortly remain with them, but men of desperate fortunes or Enthusiasts : those who dare not ask pardon, because they have transgress'd beyond it, and those who gain by Confusion, as Thieves do by Fires : to whom forgiveness were as vain, as a Reprieve to condemn'd Beggars ; who must hang without it, or starve with it.

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